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China Report

RED FLAG

No. 6, 1 June 1979

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Complete translation of the monthly theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party published in Peking. Passages between slantlines printed in boldface type.

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SEVERAL OPINIONS ON MODERNIZING CHINA'S AGRICULTURE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 6, 1 Jun 79 pp 2-9

[Edited speech by Wang Renzhong [3769 0117 6850] at the National Conference on Surveys of Natural Agricultural Resources and Their Distribution in Agricultural Regions]

[Text] Our country has achieved fairly substantial development in agricultural production since the PRC was founded 30 years ago. Generally speaking, development has been rather slow, despite periods of progress and stagnation and even some marked by recession. In particular, during the 10 years when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were running amuck the national economy was on the brink of collapse. This resulted in a serious disequilibrium in the national economy, with the major dislocation occurring in the proportionate development of industry and agriculture. As a result of backward agriculture, there is no way to meet the needs of industrial development and of other sectors of the national economy. Many pressing problems that have a bearing on people's lives cannot be solved quickly, mainly because of inadequate supplies of grain and other farm products. Since its third plenum, the 11th CCP Central Committee has repeatedly emphasized the importance of formulating measures to accelerate the development of agriculture. It recently approved steps to readjust the national economy in about 3 years, with top priority being given to strengthening agriculture, the foundation of the national economy. Only when agriculture is rapidly advanced can the four modernizations be accelerated. If agricultural development makes slow progress, socialist modernization will be held back. Rapidly developing farm production and modernizing agriculture step by step is currently an overriding task that we must tackle. To modernize agriculture we must learn from all the fine experiences acquired in foreign countries but avoid applying them mechanically. We must proceed from China's actual conditions, summarize both our positive and negative experiences and integrate the advanced experiences of other countries with our own innovations. This is consistent with Comrade Mao Zedong's teachings. What follows are my personal views for reference and study purposes.

Proceed From China's Actual Conditions

Compared with the developed countries of the world, particularly those with modern agriculture, what sets China apart?

First, China's economy is backward. Old China was a very poor and backward country, semicolonial and semifeudal in nature. It was on this wretchedly inadequate base that we embarked on socialist revolution and construction. Although the country has radically transformed its features in the past 30 years, for various reasons, and particularly the interference and sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," it has not achieved much or realized anticipated goals. Our agriculture is still very backward, whether it is viewed from aspect of technology, high and stable yields, average per-capita output or, in particular, labor productivity. The living conditions of most peasants in our country are still quite low. To modernize agriculture, a large amount of funds is required. To mechanize and modernize agriculture in a medium-sized county with a population of 500,000 to 600,000, like Daoyuan in Hunan Province and Wugong in Shenxi Province, it is estimated that an investment of about 400 million yuan may be required. There are more than 2,000 counties in China, and to develop agriculture between 800 and 900 billion yuan will have to be invested in the modernization project. In addition there are the expenditures for reclaiming about 500 million mu of wasteland, transforming vast grasslands and soil eroded by sand and harnessing the Yangzi and Huanghe rivers; the funds required for these massive projects will amount to at least 1,000 billion yuan. Where will this huge amount of funds come from? It will have to come from two sources. On the one hand, the state will have to increase investments in agriculture by stages following readjustment of the national economy and increases in financial revenue. On the other hand, funds for developing agriculture must come from communal accumulation. Since the level of mechanized agriculture in most regions of the country is still very low, developing agricultural production, improving the peasants' living conditions and increasing communal accumulation in large measure depend on the peasants' efforts and hard work. China has a large agricultural population and potentially inexhaustible manpower resources. As long as our line, principles, policies and measures are correct, we will prosper if we do things according to objective laws and if the peasant masses' enthusiasm is fully mobilized and everyone acts in concert and does his best. There are exemplary communes and production teams in different regions. Without any farm implements to begin with, they relied solely on their own efforts and draft cattle. By dint of hard work and ingenuity they applied scientific farming to develop a diversified economy. They operated small-scale industries to process farm products, using the accumulated funds to improve farmland capital construction and purchase farm machinery. Besides the well-known Dazhai model, there are tens of thousands of such advanced models throughout the country. They

are examples for us to follow. Of crucial importance at this juncture is our determination to implement the policies and measures adopted at the third plenum of the party Central Committee on rapidly developing agriculture and running people's communes well. Once all positive factors are fully mobilized and leadership is correctly strengthened, these policies and measures can be effectively applied to all stages of production. With support from the state and by relying on the peasant masses' hard struggle and self-reliance, we can accumulate funds, including manpower, for modernizing agriculture. With peasant initiative and the use of certain mechanized or semimechanized tools, irrigation, road-building and forestry projects should be undertaken. Under our country's current conditions, this form of accumulation is of special significance.

Secondly, the average per-capita share of arable land is small, amounting to a little over 1 mu for each person on the basis of the country's total population. However, there are hundreds of millions of mu of reclaimable wasteland; if the populace is mobilized to undertake reclamation, this will go a long way toward providing the state with marketable grain. But this is not a simple and easy task. Even if all the wasteland that is suitable for farming is reclaimed, the average per-capita share is only 2 mu. This is less than that of most countries and much less than that of the United States, Canada, Australia and certain European countries. Not having enough arable land for a large population is a characteristic of our country. This must be borne in mind if we are to mechanize and modernize agriculture, particularly with regard to raising the yield per unit area. It will be quite meaningless if in mechanizing and modernizing agriculture we fail to increase the yield per unit area and thus greatly boost total output. Despite China's large population and scarce arable land, the average yield per unit area of agricultural crops is lower than that of many advanced countries. Comrade Mao Zedong once proposed making our country the holder of the highest yield per unit area in the world. Take grain, for example. We should not rest content with the targets set in "The National Program for Agricultural Development," that is, average per-mu yields of 400, 500 and 800 jin for particular areas. Instead, we should strive to reach 600, 1,000, 1,500 or 2,000 jin. This is not empty talk, because these targets have in fact been reached in some localities. Have some production teams in rice-growing regions in the south not reached the per-mu yield of 1 ton? Fairly large areas near Suzhou have achieved a per-mu yield of 2,000 jin, while smaller areas have already surpassed this quota. Dazhai, a well-known model, has for many years reached the per-mu yield of about 1,000 jin. Throughout the country, from north to south, there are production brigades and teams which have attained high yields. As long as most regions in the country work hard for successive years and catch up with local high-yield models, the total output of farm products will be greatly increased. Take grain, for example. Its output can at least be doubled. Is such a target unduly high? Since things tend to develop unevenly, gaps will always exist between the advanced, those in the middle and the less advanced. However, the less advanced can become advanced if they work hard. We should

know how to grasp both ends to let those in the middle emerge and encourage the less advanced to overtake the advanced.

Thirdly, we have a large population which is not evenly distributed. Mechanizing agriculture in capitalist countries means liberating agricultural labor forces. As a result, large numbers of peasants are forced to go to the cities to become workers. This path is not for us. Even if half our rural population of about 800 million drifts into the cities, problems that defy solution will arise. Big and medium-sized cities are now quite crowded, and if the population influx continues, they could burst. Currently most industrial and mining enterprises are overstaffed. If more people are employed, more will become idle, and this will hamper the development of production and block the path to modernization. To build more cities to accommodate the rural population is just as impractical. Suppose half our rural population, that is, 400 million people, were to be moved into the cities; then 400 big cities capable of accommodating a million people each would have to be built. However, this is impossible in the foreseeable future. Moreover, this is not the right way to do it. Have we not advocated eliminating the gaps between town and countryside? If we focus our attention on big and medium-sized cities and forget about transforming rural villages into modern townships, how can the gaps be removed?

Before and after the Spring Festival, waves of former city dwellers and young people resettled in the countryside returned to the cities, particularly big cities like Tianjin, Nanjing, Shanghai and Beijing. This was an evil wind, and leading comrades naturally should not be held responsible for this development. As a result of the interference and sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and due to the existence of shortcomings and mistakes in our work, there are defects in work conducted in rural and urban areas as well as in undertakings related to industry, agriculture, culture and education. Some leadership organs have slackened in conducting political and ideological work, paying little attention to problems encountered by young people resettled in the countryside, workers assigned to border construction projects, engineering and technical personnel and people engaged in other work. We must make vigorous efforts to solve these problems and show concern politically for these comrades and try in every possible way to help them overcome difficulties encountered in work, study and other pursuits. However, we must oppose the wave of flocking to the cities and halt this tendency. We must also continue to mobilize young city dwellers to go to the countryside and frontier regions to promote socialist construction and to places where they are most needed. If all of them flock to the big cities, what will be the result? Take Shanghai, for example. When many factories were moved to the interior in the past, large numbers of educated young people, workers, engineers and technicians, responding to the party's call, headed for the frontier regions and rural areas to contribute to the cause of socialist construction. If the majority of them return to Shanghai, and if those who were born and grew up there are

reluctant to leave that city, then it will not be very long before Shanghai bursts at the seams. Just imagine, if Shanghai's population is swollen by several millions more, facilities like housing, transportation, schooling, employment and recreation will be taxed to the limit. Under these circumstances, should we look for trouble by recklessly choosing to land ourselves in a blind alley?

High or low social labor productivity should be a major yardstick for measuring the degree of modernization. Continually raising labor productivity is important in making our country and people affluent. Lenin once said that for socialism to triumph over capitalism it must in the final analysis generate a much higher social labor productivity than the most developed form of capitalism. Take the United States, for example. It is said that a farmer in that country can support 40-50 people. This allegation is incorrect. While it is true that farming in the United States has largely become industrialized, with agricultural products processed mainly by industrial departments, farm operators contribute only a small portion of these products. We must vigorously develop agriculture-related industries, including farm machinery, trucks for agricultural use, chemical fertilizers, agricultural insecticides, grass weeders and agricultural plastics, as well as fodder and farm products processing industries. After agriculture has been mechanized and modernized to a certain extent, we will face the problem of how and where to use the surplus labor, since it is impossible to divert it into the big cities. This is a major problem, considering the fact that in some places machinery has now replaced manpower. An important reason why in some places the crop yield rather than income has increased is that more farm machinery, power, fuel, fertilizer and agricultural insecticides have been used. As a result, production costs have gone up, while no rational arrangements have been made for effectively employing the surplus labor. This has prevented a corresponding increase in labor productivity. This situation must be corrected as quickly as possible. One of the proposed measures is to organize labor so that it can be more effectively applied to production. While on the one hand intensive cultivation should be promoted to increase yields per unit area and total output, local resources should be fully tapped to widen avenues and vigorously develop commune-run enterprises and a diversified economy. Places which offer favorable factors should actively develop methane and small-scale hydroelectric power, because this is important in solving the energy problem in rural areas. If methane is available, there is fuel for cooking meals, while rice stalks may be used to improve the soil, besides protecting forestry and improving sanitary surroundings. Our industrial, commercial, financial, materials allocation and scientific research departments should actively assist communes and production teams to develop enterprises and boost the income of the collective and the commune members. Our country will prosper if the collectives and peasant masses are better off. We aim to extensively develop rural townships, not big cities, so that modern townships may be set up step by step in localities where production brigades are situated and large

communities gather. With these townships spreading all over the countryside, they will become industrial, commercial, educational, cultural and recreational centers of communes or production brigades. Working hard over a prolonged period, all rural villages will become modern townships that we would welcome. When I was working in Hubei Province I proposed "establishing a new socialist countryside and promoting a happy new life for the people." However, this was criticized and denounced as "revisionism" by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." I persisted in advocating this idea, in the belief that the alternative to a socialist new countryside would be a feudal and backward old countryside and that an alternative to a happy new life for the people would be a return to their miserable life of the past. We must now aim higher. After working hard for 20 to 30 years, we should be able to transform our poor and backward rural China into an initially modern new socialist countryside. Then the material and cultural life of the peasant masses will greatly improve. This will narrow the gaps between town and countryside and reduce the differences between workers and peasants. This is quite possible and should be done. Otherwise, achieving socialist modernization will just sound hollow. It is unthinkable that a large-scale modern industry and modern cities will rise in backward rural China with a backward agriculture.

China has a large population, but it is unevenly distributed, with the greater part concentrated along the coast and near rivers and lakeside areas. Population density is much greater in big and medium-sized cities and their suburbs. However, Nei Monggol, Qinghai, Xinjiang, Xizang, Yunnan, Hainan Island and Heilongjiang, which comprise more than half the country's total area, are sparsely populated. Therefore, we must conduct propaganda education and adopt effective measures, economically and medically, to control births and population growth. We must also send people from the big cities and densely populated regions to the frontier areas. This migration program to redistribute the country's population must be undertaken systematically and in a planned way. Our great motherland offers vast border regions. To develop these frontier areas along with our fraternal nationalities, we must strengthen our unity with them and respect their traditional customs and practices. Natural conditions in these regions have both advantages and disadvantages. In Qinghai, Xinjiang, Nei Monggol, Heilongjiang, Yunnan and Hainan Island there are large tracts of land available for developing forestry, livestock breeding and agriculture or for exploiting abundant surface and underground resources. Unfavorable natural conditions can be transformed. Deserts can become gardens of luxuriant vegetation, pastureland and fertile farmland, while snow-covered peaks can be converted to mountain streams to irrigate arid fields and provide water for livestock breeding. In the new historical period our great motherland has urged our people, and particularly the younger generation, to go to the border regions to develop and build up the frontier areas. Responding to the call issued by the party Central Committee and the State Council at the National Conference on Forestry which was held in Yanan last March, many young

people wrote to the CCP Central Committee and the CYL National Committee as well as to newspapers requesting permission to go to border regions to participate in forestry, reclamation and farmland construction projects. While some young people were anxious to return to the cities, others preferred to go to mountainous and rural areas. Those going to border regions constituted the main current. They demonstrated the revolutionary aspirations and noble spirit of the younger generation of dedicating themselves to the cause of socialist modernization of the motherland. We must encourage them to go to the border regions to withstand the hardships and defy the rigors of the elements, while at the same time showing concern for them, such as providing them with better conditions so that they can work and study happily. We believe that the vast border regions will one day become more affluent and thriving than the interior of China.

II

Policy on Production

The policy of "taking grain as a key link and promoting all-round development" is correct. Grain supplies at our disposal are still insufficient to meet current needs. For a prolonged period in the future, whether in the country or in a certain province, it will be necessary to put grain in a priority position. The problem confronting us is how to advance grain production more rapidly. This is a problem from which we have learned lessons. To promote grain production, reckless efforts were made in some places in the past to reclaim wasteland by destroying forests and grasslands and converting lakes into fields. As a result, forestry, livestock breeding and the development of marine products were abandoned, while the cultivation of cotton and oil-bearing crops was neglected. This also resulted in serious losses of water and soil, abnormal weather conditions, salinity and aridity. The disruption of the biological equilibrium thus caused grain production to founder. This was the same mistake that certain capitalist countries made in the course of development and which we repeated in varying degrees. This wrong approach must be corrected at once; otherwise, more serious calamities will befall successive generations. Once some places have completed farmland capital construction and increased crop yields, they promptly leave the fields to devote themselves to forestry, livestock breeding and fishery. In afforested areas they see to it that saplings are planted after trees are felled; that is, replanting is undertaken between felling. To make the country green, trees must be planted everywhere. What should be emphasized depends on local conditions. Some places are suitable for planting grain or cotton crops, while others are suitable for forestry, livestock breeding, aquatic products, and so forth. Comrade Zhou Hui of Nei Monggol, for example, recommended four ways to develop agricultural production in that region. He suggested planting trees and improving the grassland in order to develop livestock breeding. He also suggested planting more jute and developing oil-bearing crops because of their high yields and

guaranteed harvests. In his opinion, grain production should be undertaken only after the grain-producing bases in the Hetao area are ready for cultivation (this means developing other grain-producing areas and semiagricultural and semilivestock breeding regions). These measures, which appear particularly suitable for Nei Monggol, are for the reference of other areas. With regard to Shandong and Henan provinces, where conditions are more suitable for growing peanuts, it is impractical to grow grain crops, as has been proven by the greatly reduced income. It is correct for the leadership of provincial party committees to revert to the former practice.

Experience gained in the past years has proven that grain production cannot be advanced if agriculture is not closely integrated with forestry and livestock breeding. Agriculture, forestry and livestock breeding should be developed along with sideline occupations and fishery. There should be rational and proportionate development in agricultural restructuring.

We should see farther and way beyond Hebei Province's physical features, which to most people consist of a vast plain. Sixty percent of the province is mountainous. This is also true of most other provinces and autonomous regions where mountainous areas predominate. Some comrades who have worked in mountainous regions have often focused their attention on small plains, which usually comprise 10 or 20 percent of the total area, and have neglected the mountainous areas, which comprise 80 to 90 percent of the whole area. In addition to the planting of trees and growing of grass, mountainous regions are good for developing livestock breeding and a great variety of indigenous and special products, such as silkworms, medicinal herbs, oil-bearing crops and fruits. While most mountainous areas are now rather poor, they will prosper and surpass the much richer plains if persistent efforts are made to develop them. Vast grasslands across the land, consisting of billions of acres, are now in decline because the volume of livestock breeding has dropped. Improving the grasslands will greatly stimulate the development of livestock breeding. Active efforts should be made to develop manmade grasslands and mechanize livestock breeding. Herdsmen should be encouraged to settle in the grasslands and improve their living conditions. There are vast inland waters and coastal regions in our country that can be used for promoting aquatic products and fishery. Compared with the developed countries, the average per-capita share of grain production in our country is much lower. However, the consumption of grain is much higher because of reduced supplies of edible oil, meat, sugar, milk and other nonstaple foods. Therefore, in promoting grain production we must also vigorously develop livestock breeding and aquatic products and produce more sugar, edible oils, fruits and vegetables so our people will have more and better food. Our aim is to keep our people well fed.

III

Several Problems That Beg for Solution

First, act according to circumstances and begin with projects that require small investments but will bring more income and produce quick results. Fertilizer is a weak link if it is viewed with the whole country in mind. Besides growing more green manure and collecting more compost and other organic manure, we must quicken the pace of developing chemical fertilizers, including highly effective composite fertilizers and different kinds of trace elements. Composting should be improved and scientific application of fertilizer undertaken according to local circumstances so that fertilization can be maximized. As far as farm machinery is concerned, tractors are important, but not at the expense of trucks for agricultural purposes. Since large quantities of farm products and daily necessities have to be moved from one place to another, tractors now replace trucks, which are in short supply. More than 100 million jin of fodder are required every year to feed the draft animals in Youshu County, Jilin Province, which supplies more marketable grain than any other place in the country. If machinery, particularly trucks, are used in place of the draft animals, then fodder and other farm products can be used to develop livestock breeding. There are 2 million horses in Heilongjiang Province. If they are replaced by trucks, more than 2 billion jin of grain can be saved; in addition, production costs can be lowered greatly. In places that lack fuel, if every commune places two trucks at the disposal of commune members for moving household coal, then considerable labor can be saved, while stalks left after the threshing can be used as fodder. In developing mountainous regions we should give priority to solving the problem of transportation. Roads should be repaired so that motor transportation is available for communes and production brigades. Otherwise, mountain products such as bamboo utensils and indigenous and special products cannot be shipped out, while the means of production and daily necessities cannot be shipped in. This means that there is no way of applying mechanization. Irrigation and drainage problems in places where water is available must be solved without delay. Since farmland capital construction requires a large labor force, construction work undertaken wholly or partially by means of machinery must be expedited. In the south, early rice and wheat crops are usually harvested during the rainy season, and the yearly losses due to moisture and damage are quite enormous. It is very common for a county to lose thousands of jin of grain. This calls for the use of sunning facilities, such as the cement or concrete sunning grounds now being constructed. The problems of cold storage, processing and moving of animal and aquatic products and fruits must be studied and quickly solved. Since problems in this regard remain unresolved, the losses incurred are quite staggering. This problem will become even more serious in a few years. Take tractors, as another example. Problems such as selecting the right models for different topographical regions, using the correct farm implements and making them

more serviceable must be earnestly studied and quickly solved. This will give more scope to the use of tractors. The days when tractors were hopelessly immobilized and their support for agriculture backfired must not recur.

These examples are merely cited at random. In sum, mechanizing and modernizing agriculture has to be undertaken according to local conditions. Only after needs and possibilities are considered and investigation and study conducted can the advantages or disadvantages be weighed and immediate and long-range prospects regarding the program of modernization assessed. Only then will it be possible to achieve the optimum economic goal of producing quick results and achieving greater gains with small investments.

Secondly, it is necessary to grasp the main points, concentrate all forces to fight a battle of annihilation and avoid spreading oneself thin. In a vast country like ours in which conditions are complex, it is impossible to achieve even development in different parts of the country in promoting the programs of agricultural mechanization and modernization. There must be priorities and precedence with regard to various projects. On a national scale, emphasis should be placed on the suburbs of big cities, large-scale state farms, bases for growing marketable grain, cotton, edible oils and sugar and the forest belts in the north. These projects must be undertaken one at a time, step by step, and by concentrating all available resources on a single item until definitive results are achieved. We must avoid foolishly overcommitting ourselves as we did before. Semimechanized, mechanized or automated farms for raising pigs, cattle and chickens, as well as fish ponds and fodder-processing plants, should be set up in the suburbs of big cities. Where possible, advanced facilities such as hothouses and sprinklers should be used to grow vegetables and develop fisheries in order to improve the supply of nonstaple foods for city dwellers. While state farms should be developed along the lines of jointly operated agricultural, industrial and commercial enterprises, this will involve economic management and many other complicated problems. Under the circumstances, tests should be conducted at selected points. Moreover, assistance should be given to those mountainous regions that have been depleted of their productive resources, particularly old revolutionary base areas, so that they will be able to participate in expanded reproduction. This is possible if people living in the mountains have enough to eat and if their living conditions continue to improve. In coordination with the provincial authorities, the relevant central departments plan to gain experience by conducting experiments in mechanized farming in selected counties. Although some localities do not lack farm machinery, the equipment is not supplied with matching parts. As a result, some sectors are often mechanized at the expense of others. Due to a lack of coordination between the arrangements for mechanized operations and the application of manpower and draft animals thus replaced, the overall results are not always satisfactory. The simultaneous use of manpower, draft animals and

machinery tends to hold up work and leads to waste. This must be corrected as quickly as possible. With increased mechanization, draft animals that are no longer required for plowing should be disposed of properly: either slaughtered or sold or used for other purposes. Rational and effective diversion of surplus manpower into production channels should be directed toward raising agricultural labor productivity and increasing the income of the collective and commune members.

Thirdly, we must strengthen scientific research in agriculture and offer more courses in agriculture.

In both quality and quantity, the country's contingent of agronomists and agrotechnicians is far insufficient to meet current needs in agricultural development. Our army of agronomists and agrotechnicians must be enlarged and their levels raised, while laboratory facilities for conducting research in farming should also be expanded and improved. However, there are some people who do not think agricultural science is worth studying; they dismiss the subject as trifling. Such talk is plain nonsense. Even those who are less scientific minded about farming know that agriculture embraces the science of cultivating the soil, producing crops and fertilizers, raising livestock and preventing insect pests. They also realize that this subject can be as difficult as space research and the study of high-energy particles in the universe. Once a breakthrough is achieved, as could occur in genetics, the effects on the development of farming, forestry and livestock breeding would be tremendous. Such a breakthrough would be no less significant than the invention of computers. Many eminent scientists throughout the world are applying themselves to the study of major agricultural problems. The results achieved in advanced science and technology in our country and elsewhere must be applied and popularized in agricultural production. Many fine experiences gained by our peasants in farming must also be applied, and scientists and technicians must develop, apply and popularize them. Working hard and doggedly under difficult circumstances, our agronomists and agrotechnicians have achieved commendable results in their chosen fields. It is hoped that they will continue to exert themselves and make greater contributions to agricultural science. Leading comrades at all levels should care for them politically and try to improve their working and living conditions. We also hope that experts in other callings will assist in advancing agricultural research. It is hoped that tens of millions of promising young people will devote themselves to the study of agricultural science and technology.

Organizations dealing with agricultural research should also be restructured, readjusted and improved after careful investigation and study have been conducted. It is necessary to disregard the restrictions of administrative divisions and go in for professional cooperation under centralized planning in setting up research organizations, equipping them with research facilities and staffing them with qualified personnel. We must also avoid undertaking "small but complete" and "large-scale and complete"

projects. Instead of duplicating efforts and blocking each other, we must keep in touch and support each other. We must combine elevation of standards with popularization by integrating professional research with mass participation in scientific experiments. Scientific research units below the county level should devote themselves primarily to popularization work, along with the tasks of collecting data and summarizing experiences so that research units can go on discovering and inventing.

We must vigorously strengthen agricultural education, because it is a weak link in the country's educational system. Primary emphasis should be placed on running existing agricultural colleges well, besides restoring and improving institutions related to farming, forestry, livestock breeding and fisheries. I discussed the matter with Education Minister Jiang Nanqiang and offered the suggestion that some ordinary middle schools be converted to agricultural middle schools or that the number of courses in farming in these schools be increased. Since only a small number of senior middle school graduates are admitted to colleges and universities, and because the majority of rural middle school graduates have to return to the countryside to be peasants, absorbing them into agricultural schools and letting them learn more about agriculture as a science will stand them in good stead when they return to the farms. Supplementing the program of giving advanced training to young commune members who then return to their units to apply their new skills, we should teach them to acquire more and better farming skills while working on the farms. With the development of farm production and the national economy as a whole, it may be necessary to select, through qualifying examinations to be conducted in the next few years, those who have acquired certain skills and to recruit them for work in various scientific research units. It is also necessary to set up such units in the counties, communes and production teams so that cultural and scientific knowledge can be vigorously popularized in the countryside. This is a prerequisite for modernizing farming and achieving socialist modernization as a whole.

We must introduce measures whereby leading cadres overseeing agricultural work can receive training on a rotational basis. We should also spend more time improving ourselves by studying culture, management, science and technology. This is because those who are responsible for modernizing farming must have a higher level of culture, be conversant in management techniques and know something about science and technology.

Fourthly, conducting surveys related to natural agricultural resources and their distribution in agricultural regions is fundamental to achieving agricultural modernization. China is a vast country. On the basis of geological structures and climatic conditions, the country may be divided into three major topographical regions. These are the eastern, northwestern and southwestern regions. The eastern region is shaped by the rivers, and its climate is monsoonal; the northwest is arid, while the southwest is a cold and mountainous region. These differences are

obvious, even within a province or a county. Although China is vast and abounds in natural resources, we know very little about a land which covers 9,600,000 square kilometers and the things that grow there. We bungled in the past and issued orders recklessly because we were unclear about the actual situation, although we had the determination to do things and achieve results. However, since we failed to oversee production and develop it according to local circumstances, we went against the objective laws of the natural world and suffered losses. To avoid repeating the same mistakes and to take less devious ways in the future, we must properly conduct a survey of natural agricultural resources and their distribution in different agricultural regions. Only on this basis should we formulate plans for developing farm production and achieving agricultural modernization. Naturally, this will take a long time. A more practical approach is to use available materials as the basis for producing the broad outlines of a plan by conducting investigation and study and summarizing practical experiences before perfecting the plan in stages.

Planning as well as survey and design work regarding large-scale projects such as the Yangzi River Gorge Dam, the harnessing of the Huanghe and Huai rivers, diversion of rivers from the south to the north, and running large-scale farms and setting up forestry centers should be undertaken early before the projects are shelved due to a lack of funds. Completed plans based on surveys and designs may serve as standby items if investment funds are not immediately available. We have found that this approach really works. Normally there are differing views and even arguments on problems of, for example, developing Hainan Island, Xishuangbanna and the great northern wilderness and ways of using certain lakes and estuaries. When these occur, they should be discussed by panels of scientists and technicians under the guidance of leading cadres before plans for development based on scientific conclusions and comprehensive estimates are drawn up.

These views are very immature, and they may even contradict commonsense. They are offered here in the hope that experts, party and government functionaries and the public will discuss them and express their views on the problems of modernizing agriculture in our country.

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OPPOSE PRIVILEGES AND IMPROVE THE PARTY'S STYLE

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[Article by RED FLAG contributing commentator]

[Text] The focus of the entire party's work has now been shifted to socialist modernization. It is necessary to strengthen party building so the party can shoulder the great and arduous historical task of leading the whole nation to realize the four modernizations. One of the most important problems confronting us is to oppose privileges and improve the party's style.

Our party is a great Marxist political party. Under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Zedong, a fine work style was gradually developed within the party in the long period of revolutionary struggle, which insured the victory of the revolution in China. After countrywide liberation, our party members and leading cadres at all levels persisted, as a whole, in carrying out and promoting the party's fine traditions and good style. However, our party's change into a ruling party gave rise to arrogance, conceit, bureaucratic airs and the concept of prerogatives on the part of some leading cadres in the face of victories and achievements. As early as the 1950's, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out, "We must be on guard against a bureaucratic style of work and an aristocratic stratum that is separated from the people." After that we adopted a series of measures to oppose and prevent revisionism. Notwithstanding, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" ran amuck during the Cultural Revolution. They went in for prerogatives and privileges. A very severe tendency of bureaucratism developed because of the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and it seriously damaged the party's fine work style and its ties with the masses. Since the smashing of the "gang of four," the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng has led the entire party and people throughout the country to vigorously restore and promote the party's fine traditions and work style and to resolutely combat violations of law and discipline as well as the practice of seeking privileges. Since the third plenum of the 11th Central Committee, the party's fine traditions and work style have been further carried forward. Many

comrades preserve the fine style of hard struggle. Although their positions have changed, their plain style of living remains the same. They go deep among the masses, make investigations and studies, earnestly solve problems arising in work and regarding the masses' well-being and heal the wounds caused by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Hence, they enjoy the warm support of the masses. However, due to the deep and pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the evil trends of bureaucratic airs and practices as well as the practice of seeking privileges which developed when they were in power have not yet been completely checked. They are still reflected, in varying degrees, in the minds of some leading comrades of the party, government and military organs. Some of the tendencies continue to develop. This has aroused public discontent. These tendencies have become serious barriers to the programs of the four modernizations. Thus, we must do well in rectifying the party's work style and strictly prohibit and resolutely combat violations of discipline and laws and the practice of seeking prerogatives on the part of leading comrades.

The concept of prerogatives is a reflection of the ideology of the decadent exploiting class. Those who have such a concept hold the view that their powers are unlimited, that they are entitled to exercise rights without observing any duty and thus can do whatever they like and have their own way. They like to command, interfere and make decisions on things outside their range of work. They are keen to secure a comfortable life through illegal means. Some cadres believe: "Power is synonymous with truth, and exalted ranks mean policy." They abuse power and act despotically. What they say is tantamount to irrevocable conclusions and produces effects equal to laws. In their leading work they ignore collective leadership by arbitrarily making decisions on important matters themselves. They never respect the duty and rights of the people at the same or lower levels. They replace the collective with the individual or substitute the individual for the party committee. They even coerce the party committee, other people and the masses with their own influence and power. They look down on the masses and turn a deaf ear to their voices. They never treat others as equals and wrongly think that the masses should submissively obey them. Once they are offended, they chide, rebuke or even retaliate against the masses. Some of them act like bureaucrats and overlords and live a secluded life. They are heavily guarded and seldom get in touch with the masses. Cadres at lower levels complain about them, saying, "It is difficult to enter their offices, meet them or talk to them." It is especially difficult for the masses to contact them.

In securing comfortable lives, some leading cadres never give a damn about regulations or restrictions. To their mind, such things apply only to others. They may trample upon or remove them at will. They violate financial rules by allocating funds and materials and by randomly transferring state property. When the state is suffering from shortages of funds for national construction, they are busy with

large-scale building projects. They erect all kinds of buildings and personal luxury apartments which will not be "out of date even after a hundred years." Taking advantage of their position and power, some occupy state guesthouses for a long time for their private use without paying any compensation. Wherever they go on inspection visits they appropriate public property under the pretext of giving local special products as gifts to others or inspecting new products. Some liberally give away what belongs to the state, go in for extravagance and show off. They entertain guests and send presents and indulge themselves in extravagant eating and drinking. Some even try to secure well-paid jobs and comfortable lives for their children.

To preserve and enlarge their privileges and personal ease and comfort, some comrades show dissatisfaction with the work arranged for them by the party. They clamor for positions and limelight. Some engage in setting up factions, claiming kinship, appointing people by favoritism or even practicing nepotism. When transferred to a new work unit, some bring a batch of "trusted" followers with them, putting them in key positions. Some take advantage of factionalism and build up their personal influence. A tiny number of people fawn on them. This encourages the concept of prerogatives in the minds of some leading cadres.

The above-mentioned cases exist not only in high-level leading organs but also in leading organizations at county, regimental and grassroots levels. Although most by nature are nonantagonistic contradictions, they adversely affect our party. The masses have many complaints against our cadres and are angry with them, saying they are disreputable and fail to live up to the party's expectations. They maintain that these kinds of evil trends must not be tolerated on any account.

The growth of such a concept of prerogatives extensively harms the party's cause. It suppresses democracy and impairs the enthusiasm of party members, cadres and the masses. As a result, cadres and masses in some units and places are "not working with one heart and one mind, are discontented and cannot summon adequate enthusiasm." Their efficiency is very low. Since democracy is suppressed, the leadership is no longer able to canvass the opinions of the masses. Leaders at higher levels are utterly in the dark as to the situation at the lower levels. Some leading cadres know nothing about the overall situation and how things stand, in spite of their great determination and ingenious leading tactics. They can only solve problems in an abstract and one-sided way. As a matter of course, nothing can be done well. It is impossible for a leader to do a good job without getting a thorough grasp on the real situation.

This kind of concept of prerogatives and privileges, of securing comfortable lives, will cut the leadership off from the masses. Our country is still very poor, and the living standards of the masses are fairly low. Currently there is a serious shortage of housing. In some cases several generations of a family share the same room. Some comrades turn a blind

eye to this and fling the well-being of the masses to the winds. If the gap in living standards between leading cadres and the masses is so wide, it is impossible for the former not to be divorced from the latter. Since we practice the socialist principle of "to each according to his work," it is permissible for different people to have different pay and different conditions. Due consideration must be given to leading cadres in view of their actual needs. The masses may excuse us for this. However, if leading cadres deliberately violate rules and widen gaps, they are bound to estrange themselves from the masses.

The concept of prerogatives engenders privileges in politics and daily life. The growth of privileges further corrupts the minds of people, making them mentally degenerate. Furthermore, some comrades have refused to take part in the party's regular activities for a long time. They have set themselves above the masses and refused their supervision. Some have even gone so far as to forget that they are communists. How can these people fail to be degenerate? And in so being their children are also corrupted. The practice not only harms the leading cadres themselves but also the younger generations. If this evil trend is not completely checked, the party's work style will be seriously impaired, its prestige lowered and the leading role of the party weakened. As a result, social convention will be poisoned.

There are, as a matter of course, various subjective and objective reasons for this evil trend, including class and historical roots. Feudal rule lasted in old China for more than 2,000 years. The concept of prerogatives has been deeply rooted in people's minds. Feudal rulers held this view: "In the universe, the whole empire is at my behest alone; within the boundary of the national territory, all subjects are mine alone." They held power over the people's lives and property. Chiang Kai-shek and the KMT took over the mantle of the feudal rulers by imposing feudal rule over China. We, the Chinese communists, have been resolutely refuting and launching a protracted struggle against it. However, it has not yet been completely wiped out. The direct reason for the present state of affairs is to be sought in the sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four."

Out of their need to usurp party and state leadership, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" revived the concept of prerogatives and mixed it with the decadent ideology and way of life of the imperialists and bourgeoisie, thus wantonly poisoning our party and people. They practiced idealism, propagated the theory of "innate genius" and recklessly exaggerated and distorted the role of the individual. They exercised individual dictatorship, saying: "Let a hundred schools of thought contend, but the final decision is to be made by Jiang Qing," and, "Opposing me means opposing the party." They imposed feudal-fascist rule by carrying out unbridled struggles and arrests, encroaching upon state laws and democratic centralism. Thus, party discipline slackened and democratic life was damaged.

Due to the interference and sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," party organs for inspecting discipline at all levels were abolished and their work sabotaged, and party members were deprived of their rights. Hence, the ideological trends of anarchism, bourgeois factionalism and other tendencies spread unchecked. This gave opportunity to a number of careerists to worm their way into the party.

Lin Biao and the "gang of four" took the lead in seeking privileges and prerogatives. They indulged themselves in luxury and extravagance and lived a dissolute life regardless of the life and death of the masses. They appropriated state property at will and encroached upon the democratic rights of party members and the people. They incited the evil trends of "rising in rebellion in order to join the party," "joining the party in order to climb up" and "winning promotion and getting rich." Key members of factional organizations were described by the saying, "Once he succeeds in climbing up, even his chickens and dogs share his name and position." Once a chief of a factional organization was in power, his intimates would be on the rise. It was just like a feudal family described in "Dream of the Red Chamber": "Once a person collapses, the whole family suffers; once he succeeds in achieving great things, the whole family shares his fame and position."

The concept of prerogatives has nothing in common with the party spirit of communists. Ours is a proletarian political party. The ultimate aim of the party is to realize communism and emancipate the whole of mankind. Chairman Mao pointed out, "The Communist Party is a political party which works for the interests of the nation and the people. It seeks no self-interests whatsoever." The first day a member is admitted to the party he takes an oath to strive for the communist cause. For the cause of the party and the interests of the people he fears no sacrifices and seeks no personal interests and privileges.

The world outlook of the proletariat maintains: The masses are the masters of history. Party members must serve the people wholeheartedly. No party member has the right to place himself above the people, bestow favors or charity on the masses, give orders arbitrarily or ride roughshod over the masses. Party members hold leading posts in organizations at all levels, but this only adds to our responsibility to serve the people. The masses support us as their leaders, because we represent the people and work for their interests. If any party member fails to do so by seeking personal interests, the people have the right to remove him from his post. Some comrades turn things upside down by replacing "serving the people" with "ordering the people to serve them." They abuse their power. This completely deviates from our principle of serving the people with heart and soul.

The organizational principle of our party is democratic centralism. Within the party, every party member must join a party organization and be a member of the organization. He is prohibited from placing himself

outside or above the organization. Our party has a general discipline which should be observed by all. We should not put party members in different classes--the privileged and the less privileged--or people in different groups--the superior and the inferior. Party members have the same duties and rights. Every one of them must observe the same duties and exercise his rights on an equal footing. For a long time our party has been pursuing the principle of combining collective leadership with individual responsibility under a division of labor. All important decisions must be made collectively. To make decisions on important issues individually runs counter to the basic principle of our party. If any leader fails to observe party discipline, that is, if he insists on putting on airs, making a show of authority, seeking privileges and exercising personal dictatorship, he will be violating party discipline and should be resolutely opposed.

We never negate the individual role of a leader. A good leader plays an important part in implementing the party's line and doing party work well. However, a good leader should be one with the masses and not place himself above them. He is a servant of the people, not their lord. He should set an example in strengthening ties with the masses, never separate himself from them. Comrade Mao Zedong told us, "Never for a single moment cut yourself off from the masses. As long as we succeed in not doing so we are sure to win victories." The story of Antaeus cited in the last chapter of "History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolshevik)" and the story of "the foolish old man who removed mountains" told by Chairman Mao state the truth that instead of cutting itself off from the masses our party must rely on them. During the period of the revolutionary wars our party lived and fought together with the masses and shared their comforts and hardships. The masses realized that our party worked for the interests of the people and regarded it as a reliable force leading their struggles for emancipation. They saw the truth and bright future in our party. At that time the masses never hesitated to give their lives to protect a party member or a PLA fighter. They lived on chaff and wild herbs to save grain for the fighters of our party and army. At that time, joining the army, engaging in battles and supporting the front became the conscious action of tens of millions of people. Our party maintained flesh-and-blood ties with the masses. Those comrades inside the party who now seek privileges forget the party's basic viewpoint and basic line--maintain close ties with the masses and never for a single moment cut yourself off from them.

Our party is a vanguard of the proletariat. While doing various kinds of work with the masses, party members, leading cadres in particular, must bring their exemplary vanguard role into full play. They should set an example in maintaining unity and observing discipline. They should devote themselves wholeheartedly to public duty, quietly immerse themselves in hard work and work more and get less pay. They should be the first to bear hardships and the last to enjoy comforts, the first to march forward and the last to retreat. If those leading cadres who seek privileges and

prerogatives use these criteria to measure their behavior, they will find out that they are not up to requirements.

The key to opposing privileges and improving the party's style lies in the leading cadres at all levels, senior leading cadres in particular. As long as leading cadres attach importance to work, the party's style can be improved. The Central Commission for Inspecting Discipline recently set forth "Several Disciplines Concerning Innerparty Political Life." A circular was issued by the central authorities seeking opinions on improvements. After the necessary improvements are made, the circular will be distributed inside the party as an official document and implemented on a trial basis. This is an important document and will play an influential role in partybuilding. It enjoys the support of party organizations at all levels and of party members. They have discussed it earnestly and put forward many suggestions for improvements. Concrete measures have been adopted for its implementation. However, some comrades lack understanding of this truth. They wrongly think: "It is important to improve the party's style. The 12 principles are also good, but I worry whether they can be implemented well." Obviously, such a view is wrong, because it fails to understand that we have sufficient conditions for improving our party's work style. We have smashed the "gang of four," which means that the biggest hindrance has been removed. Under the firm leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng, we have now worked out a correct line and correct policies. In addition, commissions for inspecting discipline have been set up by the central and local authorities. Most cadres and party members are good and active. They earnestly hope that we will improve our party's style. In the past 2 years the party Central Committee has led us to bring order out of chaos and do much work. Various policies have gradually been implemented, and the present situation of stability and unity has also been gradually consolidated. Democratic life inside and outside the party has continued to develop, and people's minds continue to be greatly emancipated. Of late we have readjusted our national economy, which has promoted the advance of our national construction on a solid basis. In particular, we have Marxist-Leninist weapons of criticism and self-criticism. We will certainly get rid of bad work styles and preserve good ones. Facts have proven: Since the smashing of the "gang of four," our party has bravely exposed shortcomings in our work and settled cases left over from the past in accordance with the principle of seeking truth from facts. It has likewise corrected a large number of false charges, wrong sentences and frameups and exposed existing defects in the party's work style. All this shows that our party is a strong political party worthy of being called a glorious, correct and great party. Comrade Stalin pointed out: "Self-criticism and not its opposite marks the staunchness of our party. Only a staunch political party which penetrates life and marches toward victory dares to relentlessly criticize its own defects in front of all the people." Such is our party. We believe that once the germ of the concept of prerogatives within the party is exposed and eliminated, our party will become

healthier and more vigorous. We also believe that we will successfully implement the 12 principles concerning innerparty political life, completely cure the wounds caused by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," oppose the concept of prerogatives and successively solve problems of party style in an active and steady way. As long as leading cadres at all levels take the lead in strictly observing party discipline and refrain from seeking privileges and prerogatives, and as long as we take disciplinary measures against anyone who violates party discipline and are strict and fair in distinguishing achievements from errors and in meting out rewards and punishment, we can surely improve the party's style. Naturally, in improving the party's style we will encounter hindrances and difficulties. However, the advance of the wheel of history cannot be halted. We know that discussions on the subject of practice being the sole criterion for testing truth have played a positive role in putting the ideological line onto the correct track and in further promoting the practice of seeking truth from facts. Such is also the case with the present discussions on implementing the several principles concerning innerparty political life. They will lend an enormous impetus to the campaign to oppose privileges, improve the party's style, maintain the party's close ties with the masses and further strengthen partybuilding.

Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out, "Once our party's work style is put completely right, people all over the country will learn from our example. Those outside the party who have the same kind of bad style will learn from our example and correct their mistakes if they are good and honest. Thus, the whole nation will be influenced." Leading cadres at all levels are examples of the whole party, which is an example of the whole society. Once the party's style is improved, the style of the whole of society will also be improved. Hence, we can do still better in leading the people all over the country to march toward the magnificent goal of achieving the four modernizations.

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A REVOLUTIONARY SHOULD ADOPT SUCH A STYLE

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[Short commentary]

[Text] Party committees at all levels under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng have been conscientiously implementing party policies in accordance with the principles of seeking truth from facts and correcting mistakes wherever they are discovered. A large number of false charges, wrong sentences and trumped-up charges concocted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" have been or are being corrected. Many important leftover cases have been or are being settled fairly. Those comrades who were framed, persecuted or unfairly treated have been rehabilitated one batch after another and transferred to new posts. They fully realize that it is not easy to win victories in settling such cases. They heartily appreciate the loving care bestowed on them by the party and people. They pledge to keep their minds on what the party and people are thinking and to be eager to meet the needs of the party and people. They also pledge to contribute themselves heart and soul to the great cause of building our country into a strong socialist power.

During the past few years, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" wantonly trampled on party discipline and state laws and exercised feudal-fascist dictatorship. As a result, a large number of party members, cadres and masses were politically framed, mentally tortured and physically ruined. Their relatives were also implicated in their cases. Some even died in grief, with their families ruined or dead. In addition, due to certain errors in our work before the Cultural Revolution, some other comrades were wrongly treated or their cases were exaggerated. Thus, they were wronged or suffered a great deal over a fairly long period. The party and masses fully sympathize with the sufferings of those persecuted comrades. After the smashing of the "gang of four," our party had to exert herculean efforts to solve a thousand and one problems crying for solution on all fronts throughout the country. Nevertheless, it still unswervingly implemented the policy on cadres by correcting various kinds of false charges, wrong sentences and trumped-up charges left over

from the past. All this fully shows that our party is serious and above-board. It has enjoyed popular support for dealing with those matters. It is absolutely necessary for our party to do so in order to turn chaos into order, strengthen its unity and protect its lofty reputation. It is also absolutely necessary for our party to consolidate the present situation of stability and unity and arouse all positive factors for the benefit of the four modernizations. We must continue to grasp the work firmly and do it well from start to finish. We must allow no delay or make hasty decisions.

So that the policy can be implemented better and faster, those comrades who were persecuted should naturally assume correct attitudes. They should promote the revolutionary style that every revolutionary should adopt. As wrong verdicts are reversed, many comrades who were persecuted or wronged are paying attention to party spirit and unity and looking ahead. They are openminded and have forgotten personal grudges. They are taking the interests of the whole into account and giving due consideration to those of the party and people. Their lofty revolutionary style is invaluable, worthy of emulation and deserving of the respect of all.

Like all other genuine revolutionaries, those comrades have a broad political vision. They take both the interests of the overall situation and the future into consideration and keep their hearts and minds on the great cause of socialist modernization. When their own cases have not yet been settled, they believe that the party organization will handle them correctly at some future date. They realize that they were wronged and suffered under certain historical conditions and that our party must have a process for settling the cases today. As regards settlement of their own cases, what is uppermost in their minds is the cause of the party and the people and the future of the motherland, not personal gain or loss. There is a veteran comrade who joined the army in 1938. During the war he fought bravely and thrice performed meritorious services. He was blinded in his left eye. After liberation he buried himself in the building of the army, in spite of his disability and poor health. He was wrongly labeled a rightist in 1958 and expelled from the party and the army and transferred to his native place for manual labor. When someone was sent by the party committee of the army to reinvestigate his case last February, some people urged him to recover his lost pay for the past 20 years and to strive to rejoin the army. He said: "My case will be settled by the party organization in accordance with party policy. I will be doing a disservice to the party if I make random and unjust personal demands." After the investigation, decisions were made that all wrong verdicts against him be reversed and his party membership and former rank restored. In keeping with applicable regulations, proper arrangements were made for his retirement. When an official sent by the party committee of the army announced the decision, he took some money from his trunk and presented it to the official, insisting that he pay his party membership dues for the more than 20 years after his expulsion. Such a

veteran comrade was wronged for more than 20 years. However, he always had the interests of the party and people at heart. He deserves praise for this. We see the fine qualities of a communist in this comrade.

Those comrades fully grasp the significance of the constant teachings of Chairman Mao Zedong: While settling cases left over from the past, we must place emphasis on uniting comrades and working with them. They are earnestly putting Chairman Mao's teachings into effect, setting strict demands on themselves and being lenient with others. They are clear about the rights and wrongs of issues of major importance. They always unite with comrades on their own initiative and are always warm toward them. Not only can they unite with those who agree with them, but also they are good at uniting with those who disagree or even with those who formerly opposed them and have since been proven wrong in practice. They realize that, except for a handful of bad elements, those who made them suffer were not necessarily bad people. In most cases, those comrades who made others suffer were also poisonously influenced by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Therefore, they always concentrate their hatred on Lin Biao and the "gang of four," not on their own comrades.

A comrade in Nei Monggol Autonomous Region was locked up and beaten during the campaign to expose the "Xinneiren Party" (the people's party in Nei Monggol). After he was released he gave no thought to personal gain or loss but worried about the mental burden of those comrades who had made him suffer. Therefore, he visited them several times and had heart-to-heart talks with them, asking them not to be disturbed by the past. Those comrades were deeply touched, and many expressed their determination to draw lessons from it and do their work well in the future. Some comrades were persecuted and deprived of their right to work for a long time. Since taking up new leading posts they have been bold in implementing party policies. While correcting false charges, wrong sentences and trumped-up charges, they are always making concrete analyses of those who caused them and others to suffer. They do not allow themselves to be swayed by personal feelings. The ancient feudal scholar-officials pursued a dogma of "repay those who treat you to a meal and take your revenge on those who give you an angry look." They took personal love and hatred to heart because of their class nature. However, our comrades are advanced elements of the proletariat. They fully grasp the Marxist principle that only by emancipating the whole of mankind can the proletariat itself ultimately be emancipated. We will attain a lofty realm of thought once we cast away vulgar attitudes of seeking personal favors or revenge.

Those comrades fully support the way the party settles cases, that is, by laying stress on the political settlement of questions. They have made full allowance for the difficulties of the party and refrained from making any unpractical or extreme demands. They realize that once they are politically rehabilitated, rights and wrongs will have been clearly distinguished. They trust the party for their personal future

arrangements. Some comrades were wronged for a long time and lived in difficult circumstances. But in the process of rehabilitation, when economic issues were touched upon, they never submitted any onerous personal demands to the party. Some took up higher leading posts after rehabilitation, but they refused to move into luxurious apartments or use high-class furniture. Some refused to be transferred to big cities and remained in places where conditions were hard... A comrade in Liaoning was brutally persecuted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Her family was ruined, and she suffered a great deal mentally. After her rehabilitation, what was uppermost in her mind was the party's profound concern for her, the difficulties of the state, the sufferings of the people and her future contributions to the four modernizations. She recalled: Under the interference and sabotage of the ultraleftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," her family was ruined and the state became poor. Large sums of money are now needed by all trades and services to shift the focus of work. Under such circumstances, the state was still subsidizing her. How could she accept it? She asked the county party committee to transfer a portion of her pension and extra allowance she had set aside to the poorest production team in a mountainous region. In our revolutionary contingent there are innumerable good comrades like her who take the interests of the state and party to heart.

A person should go through all kinds of trials. When Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were running amuck, many comrades were framed and persecuted. They never succumbed or flinched and thus deserve the respect of the people. Most comrades who were ill-treated because of drawbacks in our work have adopted a right attitude toward it, so they enjoy the sympathy of the people. With the policy of correcting false charges, wrong sentences and trumped-up charges now being implemented, those comrades are again facing new tests. Faced with these tests, many comrades are not only handling matters correctly but also displaying a lofty style. They merit praise. All this shows that a large number of people who were framed and persecuted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were good comrades. Trained and educated by the party, they are keeping up many of our party's fine traditions and style. It is of great significance to carry forward our fine traditions and work style to improve the party's style and the general mood of society.

Since we want to make revolution, we have to adopt a revolutionary style. It is always an absolutely indispensable factor that insures the prosperity of our party and propels its cause forward. Our party and country are now facing a new historical turning point. We must cure as soon as possible the catastrophic wounds inflicted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" on our party, country and people. We must also properly settle various kinds of cases left over from the past, do economic readjustment work well and march toward the goal of building our country into a strong socialist power. Under such circumstances, we demand that all party members, leading cadres at all levels in particular, vigorously

carry forward a communist style of work. There are many good party members and good cadres among the ranks who have adopted a revolutionary style, not only in dealing with cases left over from the past, but also in their daily work, production and study. They can be found in all sections and on all fronts, in the central institutions and in grass-roots units. Party organizations at all levels must pay attention to the work of discovering, summarizing and giving wide publicity to the exemplary deeds, advanced thinking and fine qualities of those comrades. We must carry forward the fine traditions of our party and encourage the entire party and people throughout the country so that they will be more energetic and high in spirits and advance with giant strides on the path of the new Long March.

CSO: 4004

A TALK ON THE QUESTION OF READJUSTING CAPITAL CONSTRUCTION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 6, 1 Jun 79 pp 17-23

[Article by Han Guang [7281 0342]]

[Text] Since the smashing of the "gang of four" our economy has revived and developed very quickly and achieved marked results. However, as was pointed out in the communique of the third plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee, many problems concerning the national economy remain to be solved due to the long period of sabotage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." These problems cannot possibly be completely solved in a short period of some 2 years. The party Central Committee has made an overall analysis of the national economy and defined the main tasks of the economic work program for a certain period to come as readjustment, reform, consolidation, improvement and guidance of the national economy toward proportionate and rapid development. This is an important policy decision as well as a dynamic guideline. The key to its implementation lies in readjusting the proportionate relations of the national economy. In the course of readjustment we must also improve the management system, continue consolidating enterprises and bring economic work to a much higher level.

In the readjustment of the whole national economy, capital construction occupies an important position. In this article I give my personal insights into the readjustment of capital construction and my tentative views on certain points.

Capital Construction Must Be on a Proper Scale

On the capital construction front, just as on various other fronts, the situation in the past 2 years or more on the whole has been very favorable. Great progress has been made in various fields. However, a fairly large number of problems have also existed. One important one is the incompatibility of construction projects already in progress with the financial and material resources the country can provide. According to statistics in a 1978 general investigation, various construction projects underway throughout the country will take 4 or 5 years to complete, even

if nothing is added on (which of course is impossible). Construction on such a large scale has posed many problems for the national economy. First of all, with too many construction projects in progress and on an extended front, financial and material resources are diffused. Work on many projects is allowed to drag on. This makes it difficult to realize yearly plans calling for completed projects to go into operation and for new increases in productivity. It is an important reason for the prolonged periods of construction, the high costs of projects and poor returns on investments. Capital construction is an important means of expanding reproduction. If too many construction projects are in progress and cannot be completed, which puts a heavy strain on financial and material resources and manpower over a long period, then we cannot achieve additional increases in productivity for society, provide new products or achieve the aim of expanded reproduction. Capital construction then loses its meaning, and great waste results. Moreover, an excessively large construction program often leads to diversion of funds and materials from the maintenance and repair of production facilities. This hampers the normal progress of simple reproduction. All this naturally slows the growth of production. Second, funds and materials for capital construction come from an accumulated portion of the national income. An excessively large capital construction program reflects large accumulations in the national economy, which leads to an unbalanced economy. With long periods of large accumulations and low consumption, the people cannot improve their lives. This will naturally dampen mass enthusiasm for production. If the problem should grow serious and remain unsolved, then still bigger social problems would arise.

As far back as early 1957, Comrade Chen Yun pointed out that national construction on a large or small scale must be compatible with available financial and material resources. Compatibility or noncompatibility means economic stability or instability. This is a scientific conclusion based on the experience of our First Five-Year Plan. During the First Five-Year Plan, capital construction was on a proper scale, the time a project took to complete was short and the investment returns were satisfactory. Capital construction had a favorable effect on the coordinated development of the whole national economy. However, in 1956 the amount of money invested in capital construction rose sharply and was nearly 60 percent more than that of the preceding year. As a result, shortages of raw materials, equipment and transportation were experienced. Capital construction projects could not be carried out smoothly. Imbalances appeared in certain aspects of the economy. Therefore, the scale of capital construction in 1957 had to be reduced. Practice over three decades shows that whether we properly fix the scale of capital construction and correctly handle the relationship between accumulation and consumption not only decisively affects the proper handling of capital construction but also the proportionate and rapid development of the national economy, along with the stability or instability of the economic situation. This is a very important problem that must be solved well in our socialist modernization.

To properly determine the scale of capital construction we must chiefly study how to handle the following several problems well:

1. We must study proportional relations involving capital construction investments, such as the proportion of accumulation and financial income to the national income, the proportion of capital construction investments to public expenditure, and so forth. This is a matter of balance between capital construction investments and national financial resources. Our capital construction investments come mainly from public expenditure allocations and in the final analysis are determined by total national income (newly created value) and its rate of growth. Establishing a proper ratio can stimulate economic development; otherwise, the opposite will result. Our past records show that when our economy was developing relatively quickly the rate of accumulation was between 22 and 25 percent. The proportion of financial income to the national income was around 33 or 34 percent, and the proportion of capital construction outlays to public expenditure was about 31 percent (except in individual years). On the other hand, when our economy was out of balance, the rate of accumulation exceeded 30 percent and even came to more than 40 percent. The proportion of financial income to the national income in certain years even reached more than 45 percent. The proportion of capital construction outlays to public expenditures at times came to 40 or more than 40 percent.

Of course, the economy is developing ceaselessly, so proportional relations should not be fixed. We must make penetrating studies to acquaint ourselves with objective laws governing various proportions in relation to each other and constantly search for the best possible proportional relations in light of the conditions in different periods. As things now stand, the rate of accumulation has been on the high side for many years. A steady improvement in the people's living standard is urgently needed. An excessively large scale of capital construction must be reduced; otherwise, economic stability and development will suffer immensely. From a long-term point of view, our country, with its large population, will always have consumption high on its agenda of economic problems. On the other hand, given a weak agricultural foundation and low labor productivity, only a proper accumulation and a steady and not too ambitious capital construction effort can help promote a balanced and rapid economic development. The aforementioned proportions are of great value in studying solutions to these problems.

2. Material resources should be treated as the main factor in deciding the scale of construction. To carry out a construction project, funds alone will not do. We cannot manage with any of these things missing--everything from equipment, rolled steel, timber and cement to bricks, tiles, lime and stones. Coordinated economic development is generally accompanied by a balance between funds and material resources. However, when there is an unbalanced condition, state funds viewed as a whole are still backed by material resources. But as far as the composition of material resources is concerned, an imbalance naturally exists between

such material resources that are needed in production, everyday life and capital construction, and between supply and demand. Therefore, we must not only seek a balance between the scale of construction and financial resources but also lay emphasis on a balance between the scale of construction and material resources and between the material resources themselves. We must check the material resources available for expanded reproduction after properly arranging for socially needed simple reproduction and then base the arrangements for the scale of construction on available material resources. If we are concerned with only financial and not material resources, and if we just arrange investments without regard to lack of material resources, the fulfillment of capital construction plans will naturally be difficult. An artificially induced shortage of material resources will naturally keep the purchasing agents busy and give rise to various illegitimate activities and even result in the discontinued production of daily necessities. This problem deserves our attention.

3. Too many construction projects should not be undertaken at a time. Each project must be on a manageable scale. A great number of projects is a clear indication of a large scale. However, if a project itself is not assured of a given scale, all projects as a whole will become unmanageable in scale. For many years we have encountered these problems: 1) There are too many categories of projects, and 2) many projects are added to or enlarged while underway. In some cases, certain projects are grouped under the same category, so that there are more categories calling for immediate attention. Thus, an extended front naturally results, and plans are upset. The shortage of financial and material resources is made acute indirectly. According to calculations based on relevant data, the financial and material resources the state can currently provide can only roughly satisfy the needs of 70 percent of the projects underway. If we do not reverse such a situation of "five people living on the steamed rice meant for three," we cannot have good returns on capital construction investments.

4. In construction we must take every factor into consideration and providently provide for everything needed. Unlike industrial and agricultural production efforts, a capital construction program takes a relatively long period to complete. Once a large project is started, it must be continued without any change. Plans for it must be arranged at one time and carried out over the years. Therefore, in determining whether the scale of capital construction is proper we cannot take just 1 year as a basis for judgment. We must consider the years to come and see to an overall balance. However, there is a possibility that many projects may simultaneously reach the height of their demand for equipment and installations 2 or 3 years later. An imbalance is thus likely to arise between the scale of construction and financial and material resources. Of course, the fundamental problem is that we must have a stable long-term plan. The readjustment of the national economy this time around will provide favorable conditions for formulating a long-term

plan which is down to earth, comprehensively balanced, positive and stable and reliable.

After a period of readjustment we must bring the scale of capital construction in line with the financial and material resources the country can provide. This is an important goal we must strive to achieve.

The Objects of Capital Construction Investment Must Be Justified

Capital construction investment involves a problem of allocation. For the same amount of money, results vary with different objects of investment. Putting money in the wrong direction will affect even the balance of the whole national economy. Therefore, rational readjustment of the objects of investment is another important goal of ours in capital construction.

How can the objects of investment be put on a rational basis? Of course, this requires an overall study of the various aspects of the national economy and the proportional relations between various departments. In this regard, we still have certain problems to clarify or explore as far as both theory and practice are concerned.

1. We must readjust the objects of investment in the order of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry. Of course, the relationship between agriculture, light industry and heavy industry is not just a problem of allocation of funds for capital construction. The third plenum of the party Central Committee readjusted the relationship between industry and agriculture in many respects and strengthened agriculture considerably. However, rational allocation of capital construction funds will play a tremendous role in the proper handling of this important matter of proportional relations in the national economy. Comrade Mao Zedong said long ago that we must arrange the national economy in the order of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry. In allocating funds and material resources for capital construction, we must first take the needs of the development of agriculture and light industry into consideration. What comes next is heavy industry. If we should first satisfy the needs of heavy industry and arrange whole sets of equipment for it, then what is left of the financial and material resources for agriculture and light industry would be very limited. Should this be taken to mean that heavy industry is not important? Of course not. Heavy industry is fundamental to the technical transformation of the whole national economy. Its importance is determined by the objective needs of economic and technical development. This is beyond a shadow of doubt. However, experience over many years shows that lopsided investment in heavy industry is an important factor responsible for an excessive accumulation and an excessively large scale of capital construction.

Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out in 1956 that with heavy industry we had a problem of "wholeheartedly or halfheartedly wanting to develop it." The

development of heavy industry is inseparable from the development of agriculture and light industry. Agriculture provided labor, raw materials, a market and funds for industry in its development. The scale of development of industry and the rate of its growth are determined by the labor productivity of agriculture. Especially now, when our country is relatively backward economically, industrial dependence on agriculture is more noticeable. Historical experience shows that whenever agricultural conditions improve there is a corresponding increase in the pace of industrial development. Whenever agricultural conditions worsen, industrial development slows down. Light industry involves the investment of a small amount of money and promises great profits and quick results. By energetically developing it we can achieve the aim of "making light industry support heavy industry" and of stimulating the latter's development. Therefore, if we really want to develop heavy industry, we must first make proper arrangements for agriculture and light industry and stimulate their development. Moreover, the aim of our developing heavy industry is to provide means of production for light industry and agriculture and satisfy the daily needs of the people. Based on Marx' writings, Lenin repeatedly pointed out: "In the final analysis, therefore, productive consumption (the consumption of the means of production) is always bound up with individual consumption and is always dependent on it." ("A Note on the Question of the Market Theory," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 44) To stress industry for the sake of industry runs counter to basic socialist economic laws and the aims of our revolution and construction efforts.

2. We must correctly understand and apply the law of priority development of the means of production. Stressing agriculture, light industry and heavy industry arranged in order of importance does not clash with the priority development of heavy industry. Priority development of heavy industry is required by an objective law--the priority development of the means of production. However, we must have an overall understanding of it. The priority development of the means of production is a law of expanded reproduction, given unceasing technical advances. Our country is now in a process of technical transformation. The development of the means of production should naturally occupy a priority position. The amount or proportion of what is allocated for capital construction should be geared to such priority needs. However, "priority" should not be carried to an unlimited extent as one pleases. For instance, during the First Five-Year Plan, capital construction investments in agriculture and heavy industry showed a ratio of 1 to 6 and investments in light industry and heavy industry a ratio of 1 to 8. This then met the needs of the priority development of the means of production. Agriculture, light industry and heavy industry were relatively well coordinated and in proportion. The national economy developed relatively rapidly. After the readjustment early in the 1960's, the proportion of investment in agriculture was raised slightly. However, investments in light industry and heavy industry by the Fourth Five-Year Plan showed a ratio of 1 to 11. The development of the means of production might be described as a case

of great "priority." But the result was an imbalance between agriculture, light industry and heavy industry. This only slowed down economic development. Therefore, in light of the features of our country and the economic conditions in different periods, we should seriously study the problem of how far we should carry the "priority" development of the means of production and what we should do about the scale of technical transformation and its rate of development to best serve economic development. Moreover, laws are general trends of development that exist objectively. The law of priority development of the means of production does not require that the means of production must develop in any given year faster than any sector producing the means of subsistence. This is especially true when an imbalance appears and requires an adjustment. At present we may consider making the light and textile industries develop faster than heavy industry for a certain period. This would help the development of the whole national economy.

3. We must understand well the Marxist principle of expanded reproduction. This principle provides a theoretical basis for our capital construction efforts. Many relevant problems require penetrating study. For instance, Marxism put social production under two main categories, i.e., production of the means of production (the first category) and production of the means of subsistence (the second category). Generally speaking, heavy industry comes under the first category and agriculture and light industry under the second. However, we cannot simply equate heavy industry with the first category and agriculture and light industry with the second. More important, we must acquire a comprehensive understanding of the basic conditions for expanded reproduction as pointed out by Marx. Not only must the first category provide additional means of production for its own development and that of the second category, but the second category must provide additional means of subsistence for the development of the two categories. This principle is hard to understand in everyday economic life. For instance, heavy industry must provide machinery, equipment, raw materials, fuel, power and other means of production in building a new factory. Meanwhile, an appropriate increase in the number of workers and the population of towns and cities requires a proper increase by agriculture and light industry in the supply of food and other consumer goods. Only in this way can expanded reproduction be achieved. This is to say that the development of the two main categories must be harmonious. We cannot just pay attention to the development of the first category and neglect the second. Besides, the two main categories act on each other. Marx said: Consumption reacts on production. Consumption is the motive force of production. The consumption needs of the second category make constant demands on the first and stimulate its development. For instance, iron, steel, machinery and other products are needed by the first category itself and are drawn upon by the second category for consumption. If the second category develops very slowly and cannot afford these products from the first category, then the first category will find a lack of demand for its products and cannot develop quickly. Moreover, the basic conditions for expanded

reproduction pointed out by Marx call for not only harmony between the two main categories in the allocation of funds (the pattern of value) but especially harmony in the distribution of materials (the pattern of matter) and harmony in quantity, variety and specifications. How to organize well the distribution of materials between the two main categories and within each category is also a major problem that must be studied and solved.

4. We must base modernization on the conditions of China. This is to say that we must discover the laws governing the realization of modernization under the concrete conditions of our country. On the one hand our country has a large population, a great number of peasants, a limited area of farmland, a backward economy, a low standard of living and a relatively serious problem about food and employment. On the other hand it has built an economic foundation after 30 years of socialist construction and established an industrial system marked by a relatively complete set of categories. This makes it possible for us to achieve the four modernizations. These facts of life provide a basis for all our economic work and for capital construction work.

How can the problem of technical transformation be solved well? Modernization of course requires the fullest possible use of advanced techniques in construction. There is no other way to gradually achieve technical transformation for the whole national economy. However, in using advanced techniques, including advanced skills and equipment introduced from foreign countries, we must pay attention to priorities and direct limited funds to programs which have a great effect on the development of the national economy and which are most urgently needed or are most essential to basic needs. We must make a careful study to find out what comes first and what follows. Meanwhile, we must base our technical transformation policies on the conditions of our country, its economy and its existing technical situation. For a fairly long time to come, automation and semiautomation, mechanization and semimechanization and manual processes must go hand in hand. Regarding those new techniques concerned only with the reduction of manual work, we must introduce fewer of them for a certain period or refrain from introducing them for the time being. In no way does this mean neglecting the raising of labor productivity; on the contrary, it means selecting the means to raise labor productivity in light of the features of our country. If we do not consider problems in these terms, we are very likely to commit the mistake of one-sidedly pursuing the new. This will give rise to new problems in economic and technical development.

There is also the problem of correctly handling the relationship between the building of new enterprises and the transformation of existing ones. Our country now has several hundreds of thousands of enterprises. The situation is a far cry from that shortly after the founding of the state. At that time our industrial foundation was weak, with much left to be desired. Heavy industry, especially, had practically no foundation.

Without launching more new construction projects, we could not gradually build our own industrial system. However, we then still made a point of fully using and transforming existing enterprises. Now we have acquired a fairly strong industrial foundation. Many enterprises, if transformed a bit, could increase their production capacity considerably. Compared to building a new enterprise with the same capacity, an enterprise so transformed would save money and bring quicker results. We can achieve much with little effort. Therefore, in studying rational allocations for capital construction we should in no way consider only the building of new enterprises and neglect transforming and improving old ones. So long as transforming an existing enterprise can provide a solution, we should avoid starting a new one. Especially now with the heavy strains on fuel, power, raw and other materials and capital construction equipment, still less should we one-sidedly pursue new products. This is to avoid a situation in which a new factory goes into production, only to compel an old one to stop. Of course, whether the transformation of an existing enterprise is justified technically and economically is a matter that must be carefully weighed on the basis of calculations and comparisons. We cannot seek transformation without regard to economic results. Still less can we use transformation as an excuse for a transformation or overhaul that is the equivalent of a completely new job. If we do so, we can neither save money nor achieve much with little effort. On the contrary, we will end up paying more and getting very little for all our effort. The result will even be an imbalance between production and capital construction. Economic development will thus suffer.

Be Resolute in Capital Construction Readjustment

The readjustment of capital construction must begin with the sorting out of projects underway. This is an important measure in readjusting the national economy and achieving the quickest possible progress in capital construction. With such a job well done, we can not only acquire the initiative in production but also benefit by improved proportional relations in the whole national economy.

The readjustment of capital construction has two aims: 1) We must readjust the scale of construction, narrow the front of capital construction and resolutely stop those construction projects which are not assured of required resources, are not based on clear, available information on hydrogeological and geological engineering features, require technological processes not yet mastered, are not provided with guaranteed fuel, power and raw material supplies, still pose pollution problems yet to be solved and are not justified economically. This is to bring the scale of construction in line with the financial and material resources that can be provided by the state. 2) We must readjust the objects of investment. Guided by the order of importance of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry, we must develop agriculture and light industry and those projects that cost little and bring quick and good returns and more foreign exchange. We must develop such weak links as coal, electricity,

oil, transportation, building materials, telecommunications, and so forth. We must also make proper arrangements to develop urban housing, municipal and public facilities, scientific research, culture, education, public health, commerce and the service trades. We must thus enable the national economy to develop gradually in a coordinated manner in order to allow the gradual elimination of the incompatibility between the "bone" and the "meat." With this object in view, we must on the one hand intensify our efforts to sort out and readjust those projects underway. On the other hand we must pay close attention to present construction efforts, increase production and practice economy in a big way and guarantee the completion of key projects and their smooth operation. We must concentrate forces on a war of annihilation, strive to fulfill the construction assignments for the current year and achieve the aim of advancing in the course of adjustment and adjusting in the course of advancing.

Sorting out projects underway is a positive measure. This naturally has the support of all quarters. However, it is easier said than done. When it comes to the actual suspension of a number of projects, we are bound to run into resistance from this or that party. To tackle this task we must be firm in our resolve, bold in adhering to principle and overcoming resistance and resolute in opposing such erroneous practices as not stopping projects that should be stopped, reducing the amount invested but not the projects involved, cutting down on the small but not the big projects, only reducing the number of manufacturers of components, auxiliary workshops and projects for processing "three wastes" but not the number of main projects and main workshops, and so on. Of course, we must do our job conscientiously. We must make a concrete analysis of concrete projects, recognize differences and avoid lumping everything under the same group and writing things off "at one stroke" without differentiating between short-term and long-term projects and between the urgent and the less urgent, the important and the less important. We must correctly understand problems concerning long-term and short-term projects and overcome the idea of "having nothing to do with matters concerning long-term projects you are interested in." Indeed, from the viewpoint of their partial interests and the needs of the four modernizations, all trades and businesses should be developed in a big way. However, as far as long-term and short-term projects are concerned, we cannot depart from reality and disregard a state of imbalance. We must look at the situation as a whole, seriously seek an overall balance and cut down on long-term projects in favor of short-term ones. Those projects that should be stopped should be resolutely stopped. Those that should be retained should be resolutely retained. As regards those projects affected by reduced annual allocations and thus delayed, we must make overall arrangements for the use of both locally available materials and machines to be obtained elsewhere so that no problems will arise when the time comes to pay for the equipment. As to those projects already slated to be suspended or delayed, we must pay attention to doing what is necessary. We must make proper arrangements concerning maintenance of the facilities of those projects to be delayed, the transfer of

equipment and materials not required, the reassignment of construction forces not wanted and the placement of workers required to prepare for the resumption of production efforts.

While directing intensified efforts toward the readjustment of capital construction, we must energetically reform capital construction management systems, continue to consolidate the management of capital construction projects and the management of enterprises, and energetically try to increase the returns on investments and raise the work level. Readjustment, reform, consolidation and improvement are closely related and stimulate each other. Without making proper readjustments, we can hardly carry out major reforms and overall consolidation. Without making necessary reforms and serious consolidation efforts, we also can hardly be thorough in consolidation. Not subjected to readjustment, reform and consolidation, the whole level of work cannot be really raised.

In reforming capital construction management systems we should first solve two problems well. 1) Under the unified leadership of the party Central Committee, we must increase the powers of areas and enterprises and give areas and basic-level enterprises the freedom to do more, while adhering to the socialist road and introducing the planned economy. 2) We must really act according to objective economic laws and gradually establish a management system geared to the needs of the four modernizations which takes economic accounting, economic responsibility, economic interests and economic results into consideration, along with management systems covering funds, plans, materials, enterprises and so forth and management procedures. The key to success lies in linking the good or bad results of capital construction investments with the economic interests of areas, departments and enterprises and their individual workers. In this way, areas, departments and enterprises and their workers will become a powerful economic force in their efforts to do a good capital construction job and will show a strong sense of economic responsibility. They will be encouraged to show concern for economic accounting and strive to improve the returns on capital construction investments. Major reforms in capital construction include the granting of bank credits to provide part of the money invested in capital construction; the introduction of the contract system for building projects; construction enterprises managing their own affairs and working on their own account; and surveying and designing units operating on the same footing as enterprises. The job of experimenting with these reforms must be given close and proper attention. Of course, reforms concerning capital construction management systems and methods go far beyond what has been mentioned. Moreover, many problems have to do with the reform of the whole economic system. Therefore, we must take the whole situation into consideration, strengthen investigation and study, assume a positive attitude, take firm and steady steps and seek concrete results from each reform. In no way can we approach things with a short-lived burst of enthusiasm and practice formalism.

What is most important in the business of consolidating capital construction is acting strictly according to capital construction procedures. The experience of many years shows that in handling a major project well we must first pay attention to preparatory work. This includes drawing up and studying planned targets and design papers, selecting sites for factories, defining industrial and mining districts, guaranteeing the supply of raw materials, fuels, power, water, transportation and other production and construction needs, arranging components and parts to be assembled into complete sets, building municipal facilities and amenities, formulating measures for environmental protection and earthquake prevention measures for earthquake-prone areas, doing a good job of requisitioning land, dismantling buildings and resettling their occupants, providing projects with water, electricity, access roads and leveled sites, and so on.

We have all along directed our main energies toward the organization of construction work after beginning a project and have paid inadequate attention to preparatory work. For several years we have adopted the method of "guaranteeing the completion of key projects and their going into operation." This has had the effect of increasing returns on investments. We must now continue to adopt such methods. However, as far as the whole process of capital construction is concerned, in our effort to guarantee the completion of key projects we are likely to neglect the ordinary ones. In our effort to guarantee that a project goes into operation in the same year we are also likely to neglect the business of continuing construction. These are problems that crop up after work on a project has begun. Tackling them is tackling only a part of capital construction work. To really act according to capital construction procedures and seize the initiative in construction, we must start from the very beginning and make proper advance preparations for construction so that every new project is built on a steady and reliable basis. Otherwise, the call for strict observance of capital construction procedures will be meaningless. This is also an important part of the effort to turn chaos into order in capital construction work. Of course, not only should we make proper advance preparations but we should also pay close attention to construction work, the preparations required for a project to go into operation and the matter of inspecting and approving a completed project. We must get involved from start to finish and get the whole construction job done well.

The program for consolidating capital construction involves a long list of things to be done, such as enterprise management, site management, consolidation of ranks and so forth. Because of limited space we cannot spell out here everything that must be done. The proper handling of the capital construction effort with regard to its readjustment, reform, consolidation and improvement is a hard battle. The job imposed on us is a very tough one. Under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng, we must rely on the masses of cadres and people to triumphantly carry this tough battle through to the end. We

cannot run away from difficulties or back out at the first sign of resistance. Nor can we quit halfway because of an improvement in the economic situation. We must fight this battle with firm and unwavering determination. Through readjustment, reform, consolidation and improvement, we must guide capital construction work toward conformity with objective laws and accomplish various capital construction tasks with greater, quicker, better and more economic results to meet the needs of an accelerated pace in achieving the four modernizations.

CSO: 4004

ON THE NECESSITY OF REFORMING THE EQUIPMENT MANAGEMENT SYSTEM THAT
'REPRODUCES ANTIQUES AND FREEZES TECHNICAL PROGRESS'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 6, 1 Jun 79 pp 24-31

[Article by Sun Yefang [1327 0396 2455]]

[Text] Around the end of the 1950's and the beginning of the 1960's I gave the fixed assets (chiefly technical equipment) management system a nickname: "Reproducing antiques and freezing technical progress." At first I only mentioned it in conversations and in discussion meetings. Later I wrote two reports, in 1961 and 1963, to the leading comrades of the central authorities in charge of financial and economic work and theoretical work and criticized this system. (These reports were: "On the Question of the Financial and Economic System Within the Economy Under All-People Ownership," dated 2 June 1961, and "The Question of Fixed Assets Management System and Socialist Reproduction," dated 2 September 1963. They are included in "Several Theoretical Problems Concerning the Socialist Economy," a collection of theses which will be published soon.) Taking my two reports into consideration, Chen Boda and that adviser of the "gang of four" said that I had propagated revisionism. One-fifth of a century has passed since then. To my regret, I have to repeat today what I said in the past.

I

At present the work focus of our party and state has been shifted to socialist economic construction and the four modernizations. However, the equipment management system currently practiced is an obstacle to industrial modernization. At the mention of industrial modernization, some comrades tend to think first of importing new technologies from abroad and building new factories; they seldom think about transforming old enterprises or replacing old equipment. Of course, we are not like the "gang of four," who opposed importing new technology from abroad, were imbued with parochial arrogance and isolated China from the outside world. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "We must learn to do economic work from all who know how, no matter who they are." Importing new technology is one of the methods of learning from foreign countries. However, no matter

how big a step we may put forward and how fast we may advance in developing industries, the total number of factories built and put into operation every year is very small, currently less than 1 percent of the hundreds of thousands of existing enterprises. Still fewer are the number of so-called big enterprises that are equipped with foreign technology. Even if the new enterprises we are putting into operation today are run by the newest foreign technology, industrial equipment will go through major changes in 4 or 5 years as modern science and technology develop rapidly. Thus, if these new enterprises do not pay attention to making constant innovations in their equipment and installations, they will lag behind others by a generation in 4 or 5 years, even though they were the best when they were put into operation. Moreover, imported technologies may not necessarily be first rate in the countries which export them. The real new technology is not to be found in the equipment we see being used when we visit factories abroad (even if we can see all of the equipment), but in the equipment which is still being assembled or even being designed in research institutes. Therefore, if we do not replace or innovate the industrial equipment we are now using, and if we confine our scope to new enterprises which are put into operation every year and which constitute less than 1 percent of the total number of current industrial enterprises, then an all-round modernization of our industry will be impossible.

I have said this at several forums recently. If we do not change the system of replacing industrial equipment, which was copied from the Soviet Union during the First Five-Year Plan, modernization will be impossible even by the year 3000. This is because we are in an "equidistant race" with foreign countries and can only trail behind the advanced ones. I was not saying frightening things just to raise an alarm. Some people have already seen the defects in this Soviet system of replacing industrial equipment. An article carried by the Austrian newspaper NACHRICHTEN on 25 August 1978, entitled "Moscow's Desire To Save Raw Materials Is Hampered by Its Production Plan," said:

"The Soviet Union has devised a highly effective method of continuously making ingots; some 28 Western countries are using its patent right. However, in the Soviet Union only 11 million tons of steel ingots are made every year by this method of continuous casting. This represents less than 8 percent of the total steel output."

"Among many others, this example suffices to show that even though the technological know-how comes from the Soviet Union, Western industries are more flexible in making use of new technology. The Soviet Union's total annual steel output is approximately 150 million tons. As a result of an irrational steel refining method, it is estimated that 20 million tons of steel is lost every year."

Where, then, is the Soviet Union "inflexible"? It is in the irrational equipment management system. Evidently the Soviet Union is still using

the old system of equipment management which was in practice during the Stalin period. The equipment system we are now practicing was copied from the Soviet Union during the First Five-Year Plan. Many people even at that time felt it was irrational. This system has been amended and revised from time to time during the past two decades and more, but it remains basically unchanged.

II

First of all, this system is irrational in that the term of depreciation is too long. Our term of depreciation is generally 25 to 30 years. (For example, the depreciation rate at our Anshan Iron and Steel Company is 2.92 percent, and the term is more than 30 years.) This means that the economic value of our technical equipment will completely disappear after 20-30 years. That is to say, this system only considers the material wear and tear (or tangible wear and tear) and does not take mental wear and tear (or intangible wear and tear) into consideration.

In the capitalist world, economic crises occurred at 10-year intervals during the 19th century. Marx said this meant that the capitalists had to replace their equipment every 10 years on the average. He held that the economic crisis cycle was related to the equipment replacement cycle. After World War II the capitalist world's economic crisis cycle shortened from 10 to 3 or 4 years. The reason was that more rapid technical improvements resulted in more rapid replacement of equipment. However, our system of replacing fixed assets remains unchanged, and we still believe that the economic value of modern equipment can last 20 to 30 years, that is, one-fourth or one-third of a century.

This system is also irrational in that it specifies that equipment replacement takes place in three different stages, so that funds for replacing equipment can also be divided into three independent categories. First is the outlay for daily maintenance, which involves the smallest amount of money. Second is the outlay for overhaul. The third, which involves the largest amount of money, is for replacing equipment and is used for building new projects and buying new equipment. During the years of the "Great Leap Forward," four expense categories for technical innovations, trial production of new products, labor protection and purchase of spare parts were initiated and controlled by enterprises. These categories did not involve large amounts of money, so the enterprises could not completely solve their problem of replacing equipment.

It is stipulated that the funds for daily maintenance and overhauls remain with the enterprises; those for replacing equipment, the largest amount, are submitted to the state. According to this management system, the complete replacement of old equipment, such as rebuilding shops and purchasing new equipment, is like starting a new enterprise. It has to be examined and approved by the higher levels, as is the case in

initiating capital construction projects. Everything has to be arranged in a unified manner by the state. Generally, investment in capital construction for old enterprises is tightly budgeted and cannot be easily approved. For this reason, this amount of money is spent chiefly on running new enterprises and has nothing to do with transforming established ones.

An established enterprise takes charge only of the daily maintenance and overhaul of equipment. The funds for daily maintenance and overhauls are independent; those for maintenance cannot be used for overhauls and vice versa. For example, I came across such a matter when I was inspecting a certain power plant at Dukou in 1978. This power plant paid close attention to daily maintenance and technical innovations and had spent all its funds, 2.8 million yuan, for daily maintenance of equipment (charges for technical innovations were paid for with the daily maintenance funds). Meanwhile, because of its constant attention to daily maintenance, its equipment actually did not need an overhaul, although it was due. For this reason, it had 4 million yuan in overhaul funds deposited with the bank, and not a cent was spent. However, when it wanted to do more work on maintenance and technical innovation, it could not do so because it had spent all its funds for daily maintenance. People derided this system by saying, "What is rational is illegal; what is legal is irrational."

In addition, what is most irrational in this system is that overhauls must be conducted according to the principle of "not installing an additional part, not changing the appearance of the equipment and not taking the equipment away to another place." That is to say, an overhaul means that a machine should be repaired without allowing a motor or any other device to be added to it. In the past, such large innovations had to be reported to and approved by higher levels, as is the case in procedures of capital construction projects, before they could be put into practice. However, such examinations and approvals involve complicated formalities. This is what I called the system of "reproducing antiques," a system that freezes technical progress.

If we do not change this system, we will meet with the situation in the Soviet Union reported by the above-mentioned Austrian newspaper: What has been invented by China cannot be publicized and used in China. Actually, such a situation already exists. For example, we have successfully made some newly designed products but cannot mass-produce them. It is more difficult to publicize a product than to invent and trial-produce it.

III

The central authorities have pointed out recently: We must follow the Chinese road to modernization. What, then, should we first pay close attention to in modernizing the industry of a big country with a

population of 900 million people? The first thing we should do is develop industrial production at the highest possible speed (at least at the speed attained during the First Five-Year Plan) so that the people's living standard can be raised considerably. However, by what means should this task be accomplished? By relying on newly built factories and those imported from foreign countries? Or by relying on the hundreds of thousands of existing old enterprises? The answer is clear enough: to achieve this goal we should rely mainly on existing old enterprises. The reason is that newly built enterprises are few in number, and, judging by the present speed of construction, at least 3 to 5 years are required to build a new one and another few years to bring it into full operation after completion.

However, in order that the hundreds of thousands of existing old enterprises accomplish this major task--quickly develop production at a speed not lower than that attained during the First Five-Year Plan in order to raise the people's living standard considerably within a short period of time--it is necessary during the current all-round readjustment of industrial development to completely change the current equipment management system of "reproducing antiques" and "freezing technical progress." To achieve this it is first necessary to raise the depreciation rate and shorten the term of depreciation. Even if the term of depreciation cannot be shortened to 4 or 5 years as in advanced industrial countries, it should not be longer than the equipment replacement cycle attained by Western countries during the 19th century, that is, the term of depreciation should not be longer than 10 years.

There has always been a controversy among theoretical researchers, and especially among practical workers, over the rate and years of depreciation. Some believe that raising the depreciation rate and shortening the term of depreciation is behavior typical of the spoiled sons of the bourgeoisie. At least, they say, this is an idea of economic theorists and scholars who are divorced from practice. They also say: Our country is poor and has limited assets. We lack machines, so we should use them carefully. Capitalist countries have more machines than they need, so they do not care. We must not be extravagant and wasteful as foreign capitalists are.

It is a serious misunderstanding to take raising the depreciation rate and shortening the term of depreciation as wasteful bourgeois practice. This is like applying the viewpoint of small handicraft producers of medieval agricultural society to evaluate the progress of productive skills during the era of capitalist machine building. The economy of the small medieval handicraft producers declined as a result of the handicraft producers' shortsighted views. It is true that capitalists are extravagant in daily life. However, in enterprise management they are particular about cost control. They do not allow anything which does not yield profits for them. They do not allow the waste of a nail, not to mention a machine. Although capitalists who manufacture machines

may have their warehouses overstocked, other capitalists who use these machines will not buy an extra one for the former's benefit. Every capitalist goes on improving skills to innovate his equipment more quickly in order to increase labor productivity and earn greater profits.

We often say that socialist enterprises carry out production, not to make profits, but to meet demands--the working people's personal demands and the public demands in a socialist society. Thus, should we not go on improving skills to increase productivity in order to meet these demands? Should we permit the socialist society to stand still and technologically lag behind capitalist society forever?

In the history of the development of capitalist countries there have been examples of countries being hindered by their backward productive equipment. Before World War I, Britain was the most developed industrial country in Western Europe. After World War I, however, its industries, especially its coal and textile ones which had once been a pillar of the British Empire, were far outpaced by Germany and Japan, because Britain was reluctant to replace its outdated equipment. In his preface to the first edition of "Das Kapital," Marx said this about the impediments to social progress by the old things in history: "The dead seize the living." Should we allow the "dead" and the old equipment management system to impede our flourishing socialist economic system and hinder us in our progress?

It is also a misunderstanding to put the raising of the depreciation rate and the shortening of the term of depreciation in opposition to the practice of cost control and the careful use of technical equipment. First, strengthening maintenance and replacing equipment is precisely for the purpose of protecting equipment. Second, shortening the term of depreciation does not mean that a set of equipment should be discarded once its term of depreciation comes to an end. On the contrary, the mechanical equipment can still be used. That is to say, the low efficiency (low productivity of labor) and high consumption (of power and raw and other materials) resulting from technical backwardness are not serious enough to cause production costs to be so high as to run production at a loss or without any profits. We should make full use of old equipment. Even if the equipment is too old to be used and has become a heap of scrap iron, it is still the people's property and should not be wasted. There is no problem about this.

Here we come to a theoretical problem which is also a practical one: To encourage enterprises to make full use of their old equipment, should we calculate the term of depreciation of the equipment according to its actual wear and tear (that is, not only calculate the tangible but also consider the intangible wear and tear)? Or should we artificially lower the depreciation rate and prolong the term of depreciation? As we know, depreciation charges are included in production costs. Old equipment is low in efficiency and causes high consumption, which makes production

costs high. If our equipment management system specified that enterprises using old and those using new equipment should bear depreciation charges alike, then nobody would be interested in using the old. If old equipment did not bear depreciation charges, people would be more enthusiastic about using it. This is more compatible with the spirit of repairing and utilizing old or discarded things. Therefore, I propose that the term of depreciation be shortened and that within that term the depreciation rate be higher in the initial and lower in the final period. That is to say, the depreciation rate should decrease gradually within the term of depreciation.

IV

To reform this equipment management system of "reproducing antiques and freezing technical progress," we must in principle allocate all the depreciation funds to enterprises rather than to provinces and municipalities. Nor should the central authorities, local authorities and enterprises each control part of the funds. We must admit that the workers of enterprises who run the machines and the cadres, especially those engaged in technical and financial work who are directly in charge of production, rather than the cadres of the central authorities and the provincial and municipal economic management organs who are far away from the enterprises, should be ones who have the most authoritative say over such questions as which of the machines need minor repairs and innovation, which others need to be overhauled or be replaced and whether new machines should be bought. In short, the enterprises should be given the power to replace the fixed assets (chiefly technical equipment). The higher-level financial organs and occupational departments will have done their job by just guiding and supervising the enterprises from the angle of financial and technical work. For instance, they should be checking whether the enterprises have acted against the financial system, used fixed capital as circulating capital and even spent fixed capital as consumption funds, whether the most economic and newest technical replacement plans have been adopted within the limits of the funds and technical forces available, and so forth.

Therefore, I made the following proposal in a 1963 study report: In reforming the existing systems of planning and enterprise management, it is first necessary to work out the details of the correct principle of "centralizing power over major affairs and decentralizing it over minor affairs" as put forward by Comrade Mao Zedong.

What is it that the commissions and ministries of the central level should grasp, and what is the power that should be given to enterprises? I am of this opinion:

First, in principle, authority over the use of funds, that is, use concerning simple reproduction as Marx said, especially concerning the work of overhauling and replacing fixed assets (chiefly equipment) of

enterprises, should be given to the enterprises. Thus, depreciation funds (under the premise of increasing the depreciation rate and shortening the term of depreciation) for fixed assets should in principle be grasped wholly by enterprises. Only when the resources are running out and the enterprises are to be closed and when they do not need to increase their production capacity will it be necessary to surrender the depreciation funds to the state, partly or wholly as planning permits.

Some financial workers oppose increasing the depreciation rate and transferring depreciation funds to lower levels. Their main reason is this: It is estimated that China now has fixed assets amounting to several hundred billion yuan. Increasing the depreciation rate by 1 percent would mean decreasing annual fiscal income by several billion yuan. If the depreciation rate were increased from the current 3 percent to 10 percent, the annual fiscal income would decrease by several dozen billion yuan. It is true that this change in systems would bring some difficulties to fiscal budgeting and the planning of the national economy. However, it is important to clearly explain the reasons for such a change. Once the reasons are explained, it will be possible to find a solution to the problem. Actually, it should be seen that the arguments of those who oppose this change show precisely the deceptive nature of current fiscal incomes (that is, turning debits into bookkeeping credits), which means that "capital" is taken as income. There are now only two roads for us to follow. One is to follow the old method and continue to live off our "capital" and create false income. In this way a few more projects may be tackled, but the technical progress of hundreds of thousands of old enterprises will be frozen. As a result, it will be impossible to increase labor productivity and real income. Another road is to effect a change, increase the depreciation rate and assign depreciation funds to lower levels. When this road is followed, the number of new projects appears to be reduced. However, this will quicken technical innovation and replacement of the fixed assets of the existing several hundreds of thousands of enterprises. Labor productivity may increase greatly and, subsequently, real income will increase. The growth rate of this income will surely be much higher than that in the past. Which of these two roads should we take? The answer is very simple. It is hoped that those engaged in practical work and those in theoretical study will hold a discussion on this topic.

Second, supply (including supply of equipment, power and raw and other materials), production and consumption (the consumers--users--of the means of production are represented by commercial corporations) are to be handled by the enterprises themselves on the basis of existing cooperation among them and by signing contracts. Once a contract is signed, the parties concerned must fulfill it strictly. Those who break it must bear the economic and legal consequences. Only when a breach appears in supply, production or consumption or for other reasons and when the grassroots enterprises themselves cannot repair this breach

will it be necessary for higher-level organs to help the enterprises concerned solve their problems.

When enterprises can maintain a balance of supply, production and consumption on the basis of existing cooperation among themselves, they will not have to call supply allocation meetings ("allocation" should be interpreted as "rations"), which were satirically referred to as mule meetings. The phenomena of traveling purchasing assistants will no longer exist. In this way, the higher-level planning organs and business management organs will not have to be busy all day organizing supply and marketing, that is, working as go-betweens in circulating goods, and will be able to concentrate their energies on handling affairs relating to production (this is the base of all economic work). What is still more important is that they can spare a hand to conduct the major affairs of expanded reproduction or new investments in the whole country, that is, in society as a whole.

Third, all profits gained by the enterprises, except the portion retained for use as bonuses and for their funds, should be submitted to the state. State-run enterprises in a locality should submit their profits to the local financial bureaus. Enterprises run by the central authorities should submit their profits to the financial departments under the State Council. The reason is that profits (profits outside the bonuses and funds for enterprises) represent the work done by productive workers for society, as Stalin said. This portion of income will be used to pay the expenses for running the organs responsible for national defense and for scientific, cultural, educational, health, political and judicial work and will also be invested in expanded reproduction; these two items of expenditure, especially the outlay for expanded reproduction in society, cannot be manipulated by enterprises. In a big country like China, which has vast territories and a large population and where development is uneven, investment in expanded reproduction should be distributed in a unified manner by the central government. This is so because it is impossible for an enterprise or even a provincial or municipal department to make appropriate decisions on the comprehensive balance among different sectors of the whole country and among the provinces and municipalities.

To sum up the above three points, workers, technicians and administrative cadres of grassroots enterprises should be aroused and relied on to handle the daily tasks concerning funds (capital), that is, affairs relating to simple reproduction, as Marx said, whether they are affairs arising in the course of production (such as replacement of equipment) or in the course of circulating goods (supply and marketing). To the leaders at all levels, especially the central leaders, these are minor affairs, and power should be decentralized and allocated to the lower levels. Affairs relating to new investments, that is, relating to expanded reproduction, as Marx said, are major affairs which should be grasped by the central leaders (provincial and municipal enterprises should be supervised by the provincial and municipal authorities).

Here we must clarify two concepts which have long been confused and have caused practical work to be adversely affected. They are: What is simple and what is expanded reproduction?

As we know in daily life, whether in a capitalist society or a socialist society, and from a long-term point of view, the constant technical progress and improvement in business management will cause the productivity of social labor to grow continuously, except under special conditions of natural and manmade calamities. Thus, the scale of production (in terms of product and equipment quantity) always continues to grow, even within the sphere of existing capital. In terms of production quantity of use value, this is also a form of expanded reproduction, which actually means growth in labor productivity. It is essentially a synonym for an increase in labor productivity.

In studying the problem of reproduction, Marx tried to separate the expansion in the scale of production resulting from the increase in labor productivity--expanded reproduction of materials--from the expanded reproduction he was studying, that is, expanded reproduction caused by accumulations and by increases in investment. He thus treated the question of increases in labor productivity abstractly. This was so because increases in labor productivity are, first, the object of technical and scientific study and, second, the object of study in business management, which is concrete economics (in a capitalist society this is a special subject for capitalists and their agents or employees); it is not the object of study in political economy. Therefore, the expanded reproduction mentioned by Marx in political economy generally refers to the expanded reproduction caused by additional investments and accumulations. An expanded reproduction of this nature--an economic movement comprising the movement of the value of funds and the movement of actual production--is the very object of study in political economy.

However, being long influenced by the concept of a natural economy, some economic theorists formerly did not draw a line between simple and expanded reproduction from the angle of the value of funds. Instead, they drew a line from the angle of use value and actual production. As a result, they could not expound the Marxist theory of reproduction. They just brought chaos into practical work.

This subject goes back to the period of the agricultural policy of readjusting, consolidating, filling out and raising standards adopted after the 3 years of economic difficulties. After summing up the experiences and lessons of the 3 years of economic difficulties, the party Central Committee and the State Council at that time drew this conclusion: In doing any task for socialist economic construction, that is, whether in drawing up plans or conducting business management or doing the work involved in supplying materials, it is first necessary

to arrange simple reproduction well—production carried out by old enterprises—and then arrange expanded reproduction. As summed up by the party Central Committee and the State Council after taking in the experiences and lessons of the 3 years of economic difficulties, this conclusion was "a direct criticism of prevailing social evils" and was very sensible and correct. One of the causes of the 3 years of economic difficulties was a work style characterized by exaggeration—transferring many laborers and a great deal of funds from agriculture to wasteland reclamation and running cultural troupes, propaganda teams and so on, and transferring the manpower and funds of old enterprises to run new factories, refine steel and so forth. As a result, expanded reproduction did not succeed. On the contrary, current production was sabotaged. Then, Chen Boda, who had usurped power over theoretical work, and that "theoretical authority" who later became adviser to the "gang of four" tried to seek a line between simple and expanded reproduction. As I said above, influenced by the deep-seated concept of a natural economy, they only tried to find this line in actual production, that is, in the magnitude of use value and the number of workers and staff members. Their efforts were futile. The reason was this: If an automobile plant capable of producing 10,000 cars a year according to its original design turns out an extra 1, 10 or 100 cars in a certain year for one reason or another; or if a textile mill having 50,000 spindles installs an extra 100 by utilizing and repairing old or discarded equipment or by other means and without asking the state for additional investment; or if a factory which has only 1,000 workers employs a few or a few dozen more temporary or permanent ones to meet certain needs, is it reasonable to take this as expanded reproduction and new investment and to restrict these enterprises through complicated review and approval formalities? Should a plant which increases production without asking the state for investments and increases its production capacity by repairing and utilizing old or discarded things be rewarded? The result of their study was: Simple and expanded reproduction are an abstract Marxist principle; it is not easy to tell one from the other in practice!!! Thus, instead of contributing to the experiences and lessons summed up by the party Central Committee and the State Council regarding the 3 years of economic difficulties, they went so far as to indirectly negate the correct conclusion which had been drawn.

Actually, if a line is drawn between simple and expanded reproduction according to Marx' definition—according to the magnitude of the value of the funds invested—the conclusion drawn by the party Central Committee and the State Council can be proved to be very correct and wise. One of the causes of the 3 years of economic difficulties was that the production funds (that is, the funds for simple reproduction, including materialized labor and human labor) of the old enterprises and production teams were infringed upon in order to conduct expanded reproduction. As a result, both were damaged; this resulted in diminished rather than expanded reproduction.

Since liberation the work of balancing supply, production and marketing--the supply of equipment and raw and other materials and the marketing of products--has been grasped directly by higher-level planning organs and economic management departments, especially by higher-level commercial departments and goods and materials departments. Why do I propose assigning this work to the grassroots enterprises? In the past, when management was conducted in a unified manner, this work was not conducted in a well-balanced way, and there were always breaches. If the central economic organs take no interest in this work and assign it to the grassroots enterprises, can these enterprises handle it well? Will the work end up a mess? No. The production policy (what is to be produced) for each grassroots enterprise is laid down when the enterprise is established. The supply of equipment and raw and other materials and the marketing of products are planned beforehand and stabilized by means of contracts. A breach of contract is subject to economic and legal sanctions. Product prices are also fixed according to the state's unified system. Higher-level organs may supervise and examine these matters through financial accounting and business statistics. This blocks the road to speculation and profiteering. Therefore, things will not end up a mess. Moreover, the work regarding such targets as variety, specifications and quality of products, which cannot be controlled, supervised and inspected under the old system, can now be carried out and accomplished better through mutual supervision and inspection by the supply, production and marketing sections of an enterprise.

Management of fixed assets, especially the overhauling and replacing of technical equipment, should in principle be assigned to the grassroots enterprises. At the same time, the work of balancing supply, production and marketing of products should also be assigned to the grassroots enterprises. Subsequent to this change in the enterprise management system, appropriate changes should be made in the procedures for drawing up state plans. The former method, in which the State Planning Commission first draws up a big plan and then assigns the tasks (targets) to the central ministries and various provinces and municipalities, a method of distributing assignments from the top downward, has been changed so that the grassroots enterprises first achieve a balance in supply, production and marketing and set up a contract system and then sum up experiences and report them to the higher levels. A national plan of simple reproduction is also drawn up on this basis. At the same time, the central ministries and the State Planning Commission draw up the plan for expanded reproduction, that is, the plan for achieving a comprehensive balance in supply, production and marketing among the newly built enterprises. These two plans together constitute the national economic plan for the whole country or the whole society.

After these enterprise management and planning systems, which aim at achieving a balance in supply, production and marketing at every level

from the grassroots level upward, have been drawn up, the goods and materials supply system and the goods and materials distributing organs will inevitably "vanish" in steps. This will happen because their existence is no longer required. However, as this system is being changed, the goods and materials management organs at all levels are facing a more complicated, albeit glorious task: How should the policy of readjusting, consolidating, filling out and raising standards be carried out on the basis of present and past relations of cooperation between the supply, production and marketing sections, and what should be done on this basis to set up a universal contract system of supply, production and marketing for grassroots enterprises? Having done this, the goods and materials management organs will have accomplished their historical task.

My viewpoint gives other people, especially comrades responsible for goods and materials supply, the wrong impression that I have adopted a nihilistic attitude of completely negating the work of the goods and materials supply organs. The reason for this is that in the past 20 years or so I have never mentioned a good point about these organs, either verbally or in my articles and investigative reports. However, I think that these organs and this distribution system which centralizes distribution work from the top downward have been entirely necessary, whether during the initial period of the October Revolution (that is, the period of civil war and military communism) or during the period of economic restoration in Russia, or during the years of the revolutionary war and the initial period after the liberation in China, or during the periods when goods and material supplies ran short and before the normal relations of cooperation in supply, production and marketing were established between grassroots enterprises. This goods and materials distribution system accomplished its honorable historical task. However, when economic construction later got onto the right track and when the five-year plans were drawn up, the relations of supply, production and marketing between enterprises were not established through exchanges of commodities or products or through the contract system. Instead, the work of achieving a balance in supply, production and marketing among the hundreds of thousands of enterprises throughout the country was carried out by an allocation or supply system which had been adopted during the war years and the initial period after liberation. That was a thankless task.

At the same time, I must point out again that to change the existing supplies allocation system from the top downward it is first necessary to change the present planning and enterprise management systems which function from the top downward. The current goods and materials allocation system is an indispensable component of the existing enterprise management system. If the enterprise management and planning systems remain unchanged, and if the relations of cooperation in supply, production and marketing and the contract system are not established beforehand between enterprises, changes in the present supplies allocation system will lead to confusion.

VII

I started this article with the system of replacement of fixed assets. However, I quickly turned to the enterprise management system, the planning system, the financial system (submission of profits to the state) and the goods and materials management system. I seem to have wandered far from the original subject. However, when we think carefully about the problems mentioned above, we shall understand that all of them are inalienable aspects of a so-called unified financial system and that impediments to the speedy development of the national economy resulting from the system of "reproducing antiques and freezing technical progress" are the invariable outcome of this financial management system.

During the late 1930's and after World War II, the Soviet Union not only could not maintain the rapid economic development of the period of the first and second five-year plans but also showed signs of gradually reducing this speed. People held the wrong theory that when the base figure was large the speed would be less, but the absolute quantity represented by the increase of a percentage point would be larger, and so on. This means using elementary arithmetic to hide the economic consequences caused by the (political) ossification of the superstructure and the financial system. If this deceptive theory is tenable, we must accept this logic: On a chicken farm the average number of eggs laid by a hen decreases with the expansion of the farm. The rate of egg laying on a farm with 100,000 hens is lower than that of a farm with 50,000 hens; a farm with 50,000 hens lags behind a farm with 10,000 hens, and a farm with 10,000 hens lags behind a farm with 1,000 hens, and so on. It should be pointed out that such a theory of gradual decrease in speed has no market among our theoretical researchers and practical workers.

Thanks to the wise policy of our party Central Committee, the question of changing the financial management system has now been raised again since the "gang of four" have been smashed and the situation of political and ideological ossification shattered. I therefore have the courage to air some opinions on changing the existing system. I hope practical workers and theoretical researchers will point out and correct my mistakes.

CSO: 4004

BRING THE POWERFUL FORCE OF POLITICAL WORK INTO PLAY IN THE MODERNIZATION OF THE ARMED FORCES

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[Article by Xiao Hua [5135 5478]]

[Text] At present our party, country and army are at an important turning point in history. The glorious prospects of realizing the four modernizations is inspiring and urging us to struggle hard to build a modern revolutionary army. How to adapt political work to the shift in emphasis in work is of universal concern to everyone. Recently the CCP Central Committee reiterated the necessity of upholding the four basic principles in realizing the four modernizations. From the Central Committee to the localities, everyone is putting emphasis on strengthening political and ideological work. Many political cadres of our units have also carried out warm discussions focusing on such issues as "how political work can serve modernization." The All-Army Political Work Conference put forth the task of bringing the fine traditions of political work into play under the new historic condition and defined the orientation, task and method of political work. Since the shift in emphasis in the work of the party, some comrades have often attached importance to the study of concrete problems but neglected basic things. Based on some of my own experiences, I wish to discuss and study several basic problems of how to bring the fine tradition of political work into play under the new historic condition and uphold the proper grasping of political work.

The Political Work of the New Period Must First Attach Importance to Consolidating and Strengthening the Absolute Leadership of the Party Over the Army

The Chinese Communist Party is the force at the core leading all the Chinese people, including the organizers and leaders of the four modernizations. Political work is the work of the party, and its primary task is to strengthen and consolidate the absolute leadership of the party over the army. This is the fine tradition of political work of our party. After the shift in emphasis in the work of the party, this "primary task" of political work definitely cannot "be shifted." In

accordance with the spirit of the third plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee and the four basic principles reiterated by the CCP Central Committee, we must uphold strengthening and consolidating the absolute leadership of the party over the army as the primary task of political work.

The PLA is the army of the party. Only by relying on political work to politically, ideologically and organizationally guarantee absolute leadership of the party over the army can we preserve the proletarian characteristics of the army. The first rule of political work promulgated by the Red Army explicitly stipulated: "To fulfill its great historic task, the Chinese workers and peasants Red Army must accept the leadership of the proletarian vanguard (the Communist Party)." "The political work of the Red Army is to consolidate the leadership of the proletariat and its vanguard--the Chinese Communist Party--in the Red Army so that the Red Army will become a strong and powerful armed force in the workers and peasants revolution." Our army has been able to grow from small to big, weak to strong and become an invincible heroic army because it has guaranteed the absolute leadership of the party over the army by means of strong and effective political work. Precisely because of this, Lin Biao and the "gang of four," in their conspiracy to usurp party and army leadership, always directed the target of attack at the political work organs of the party in the army. They first instigated "smashing the General Political Department of the palace of hell," continued to deal staggering blows on the General Political Department and disrupted the political work of the units. In the past there were a handful of people in society who cast doubts on the leadership of the party and attempted to rock and weaken the leadership of the party. At present there are again a handful of people with ultraleftist features expressing doubts and even opposing the third plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee. In the face of this kind of erroneous ideology, the political workers of the party should not have any doubts about upholding the leadership of the party and should also fully discharge their duty, boldly and assuredly organize the masses to carry out effective resistance and criticism, educate the masses of commanders and fighters to keep on strengthening party concepts, believe firmly in and safeguard the leadership of the Central Committee and the Military Commission of the CCP Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng, have faith in the line, policies and principles of the party, bear in mind the instructions of the party and always maintain a firm and correct political orientation.

Basically speaking, the leadership of the party over revolutionary work is primarily the leadership of the Marxist ideological and political line and the organizational leadership of democratic centralism. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "To lead the revolution to victory, a political party must depend on the correctness of its own political line and the solidarity of its own organization." ("On Contradictions") To guarantee and strengthen the absolute leadership of the party over the army,

political work must conscientiously implement the line, policies and principles of the party and use them as the basis for unifying the thinking and actions of the cadres and fighters. During the long revolutionary war, education on the general line of the new democratic revolution, which was repeatedly carried out by our army, enhanced the heroic militant awareness of our army on overthrowing the three big mountains. After the nationwide liberation, our army continued education on the general line of the transitional period, the general line of socialist construction and the general line of the international communist movement, which raised the awareness of the commanders and fighters to actively take part in and defend socialist revolution and socialist construction. At present and for a period in the future our units must continue to implement the spirit of the third plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, thoroughly carry out education on the general line, general task and policies of the party in the new period and unify the thinking of the cadres and fighters on the basis of the spirit of the third plenary session. At present some comrades in the party are still deeply poisoned by the ultraleftist ideology of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and a handful of them have even spread rumors and lies attacking the series of policies carried out by the CCP Central Committee after the smashing of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and particularly those after the third plenary session, as running counter to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. In addition, a handful of people in society are spreading an ideological trend of doubting and opposing the four basic principles. Moreover, individual comrades within the party not only do not admit the danger of this ideological trend but even directly or indirectly support it to a certain extent. If this ideological trend is not overcome in time, it is bound to weaken the leadership of the party over revolutionary work, and there will be a danger of modernization coming to naught. All political workers must support and strengthen party leadership and organize the units to conscientiously study the documents of the third plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee and the relevant speeches recently made by responsible comrades of the CCP Central Committee. They must also give timely theoretical explanations and correct guidance on ideological problems currently appearing in the implementation of the line, policies and principles of the party. At the same time, they must resolutely struggle against the ideological trend of doubting and negating the four basic principles, so that our commanders and fighters can resolutely implement and defend the correct line of the party and guarantee the vigorous development of modernization along the correct orientation. The concrete line and the concrete policy of the work of the units come under the general line and are in their service. The enlarged meeting of the Military Commission in 1975, the plenary session of the Military Commission in 1977 and the All-Army Political Work Conference in 1978 laid down a series of policies, principles and tasks for our army. We must conscientiously study the documents of the third plenary session, the important speeches of Comrades Hua Guofeng, Ye Jianying and Deng Xiaoping and the report of Comrade Wei Guoqing, resolutely implement the various tasks put forth at the meetings and strengthen the building of the units in an all-round manner.

The absolute leadership of the party over the army is carried out by means of party organizations at various levels in the army. Without a strong party organization, it is impossible to implement a correct political line. Party committees at various levels are cores of unified leadership and solidarity of the units. To uphold the absolute leadership of the party over the army, we must keep on strengthening the construction of party committees and branches at various levels, conscientiously implement the collective leadership of the party committee and the system of division of labor and responsibility among leading cadres under collective leadership, strengthen the party's concept of collective leadership and struggle against all erroneous tendencies that tend to weaken and destroy democratic centralism. Leading cadres of the party at all levels must fully emancipate their minds and give full play to democracy in order to raise the enthusiasm of party members and strengthen the fighting power of the army. However, ours is a democracy under centralized guidance, and it is designed to consolidate discipline and strengthen fighting power, not to weaken this discipline and fighting power. We absolutely will not permit anyone to display the signboard of so-called "democracy" and "freedom" while kicking aside the party committee to make "revolution" or contend for "democracy." Party committees and political organs at various levels must not be afraid to shoulder their responsibility, and in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism they must be bold at leading and good at guiding. They must carry out thorough and meticulous political and ideological work and set the pace for the masses of comrades and fighters in waging a resolute struggle against phenomena which tend to disrupt the socialist legal system and endanger the interests of the state and people. They definitely cannot appear weak and incompetent before this perverse trend. They must give play to the role of the company party branch as a fighting fortress and, through the party members, propagate to the masses and organize and lead them, so that the leadership goals of the party can be translated into the action of the masses. In our army's modernization and fight, every party member must strive to be a model in heroic fighting, carrying out orders and observing discipline, as well as a model in political work, diligent study, internal solidarity and unity. In the self-defensive counterattack against Vietnam, the border defense units of Guangxi and Yunnan fully brought into play the exemplary role of communists and led the masses to score a victory in the battle. We must properly study their political work experiences in this battle and turn them into an asset for building up our units.

It Is Even More Necessary To Uphold the Use of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought To Educate the Units in the New Long March

Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is the theoretical basis directing our thoughts and the fundamental guide for our four modernizations. Every political cadre must always bear in mind that the basic task of political work is to educate the units with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. A handful of people in society have recently spread the ideological trend of doubting and negating Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the

erroneous view of "supporting the correct Mao Zedong Thought" and "opposing the wrong Mao Zedong Thought." Some comrades also think that with the shift in work emphasis to modernization they can give up the study of revolutionary theory. There are even some political cadres who think that political work and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought are not so popular now. Because of this, they either consciously or unconsciously slacken their efforts to organize and lead book reading and study. These conditions remind us that in a great historic period of revolutionary change we must all the more emphasize the basic task of political work in educating the units with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, so that all comrades engaged in political work will truly understand the great significance of successfully carrying out this task and realistically, firmly and properly grasp the education in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

To carry out education in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought we must attach importance to systematic and comprehensive education in the light of reality and completely and accurately study the basic theory of revolution. This is the way to build up the units ideologically. If these are properly grasped, cadres and fighters will have a correct stand, viewpoint and method in dealing with things and analyzing problems, and there will at least be some consciousness and morality in their work and life. Although fighting went on all the time during the war years, our units still made use of all available time to carry out class education, education on revolutionary heroism and education on whose soldiers they were, whom they were fighting for and the essential qualities of a people's army marked by unity between officers and men and between the army and people. It was precisely because of this more comprehensive basic education that comrades and fighters greatly enhanced their political consciousness and won victory in the war. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and their kind most gravely disrupted book reading and study and the political education of units. Therefore, they desperately peddled their sinister goods of utilitarianism to destroy the fine tradition of integration, systematization and grasping of fundamentals. Under their influence, no unified plan for study and education existed for some units. Everything was left to the arrangements of the upper level based on the requirements of the moment. They had no idea as to what theory a fighter should be helped to grasp after several years of service. These fragmentary and unsystematic methods of study and education caused the fighters to have no comprehensive or correct understanding of the basic theory of revolution. They frequently lacked the ability to resist or the dialectical viewpoint to deal with things that were wrong. Some time ago, when we put emphasis on emancipating minds and on practice as the sole criterion for testing truth, individuals began to have doubts and hesitations about Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. When we introduced some advanced foreign technology and put the stress on democracy, some people even began to have doubts and hesitations about such fundamental issues as the socialist line and the dictatorship of the proletariat. After we put the stress on upholding the four basic principles, a handful

of people began to have doubts about emancipating minds and the spirit of the third plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee. They tried to drag the "four upholds" back to the road distorted and usurped by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Undoubtedly, this situation has resulted mainly from the long period of confusion in ideological theory created by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." However, it is also directly related to our units' not getting a systematic education in basic theory. Some comrades still have not seen the importance of this problem. In political work they frequently attach importance to grasping education in the central task and concrete ideological work but neglect grasping education in basic theory and basic ideological training. It should be pointed out that both education in the central task and concrete ideological work are extremely important; however, a structure many stories high must be built from the ground up. Basic ideological construction is the foundation of the awareness of cadres and fighters. If this foundation is not properly laid, the solution to all actual ideological problems and education in the central task will resemble a structure built on sand. It either cannot be done or cannot be solid when built. Ideological work inevitably will be like treating the symptom but not the disease, or "having a new problem appear as soon as a previous one is solved." With a proper grasp on the systematic education of revolutionary theory, the minor principles will be controlled by the major ones, and all actual ideological problems will be easily explained and solved.

We must conscientiously sum up the lessons of past experience. In reading and study we must scientifically draw up long-range plans, organize the cadres to read some of the works of the revolutionary teachers in a planned and systematic manner, and completely and correctly understand and master the scientific system of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. As for study for fighters, we must edit and prepare political knowledge reference material and books for popular consumption so that they can master some basic concepts of Marxist philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism in their several years of service. We must energetically give play to the revolutionary study style of combining theory with practice and improve the ability of cadres and fighters to apply the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method to observe, analyze and solve problems.

Close attention must also be given to making political education comprehensive and systematic. Judging from actual conditions in the modernization of the armed forces, we believe that importance should be attached to making a success of basic education in the following ways:

1. The armed forces shoulder the sacred duty of defending socialist construction. We must educate them on the bright socialist future and ambitious communist goals. We must organize cadres and fighters to study the history of socialist development and the basic principles of socialism and communism along with the history of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people's armed struggle for power under the leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong, so that they will understand how the Chinese

proletariat and working people went through a most arduous struggle and how countless revolutionary martyrs made bloody sacrifices before the dictatorship of the proletariat could be set up and before we could step on the golden socialist road. Only socialism can save China, so we must have ambitious goals, love socialism even more and take the socialist road firmly. At the same time, we must energetically publicize the general task of the new period, inform the masses of the ambitious goals and beautiful prospects of the general task and urge everyone to struggle hard for the general task of the new period.

2. The glorious task of defending the motherland and the four modernizations requires each and every one of our fighters to always maintain high military preparedness. We must systematically carry out education on the militant outlook of the proletariat and help everyone clearly understand the cause of war, the essence of war, the relations between war and peace, the factors determining victory and defeat and ways to eliminate war; fundamentally solve the question of whom we are serving and whom we are fighting for; and establish the mentality of always being on the alert and instill the confidence of not being afraid to fight and of being certain of winning. We must carry out education on opposing hegemonism, organize everybody to study Comrade Mao Zedong's "three worlds" theory, denounce the crimes of the hegemonists and expose their reactionary nature and frailty, and clearly understand that the hegemonists are the source of world war and the most vicious enemy undermining China's modernization. Because of this, we must hate, loathe and despise them. To arouse their sense of responsibility for defending the motherland, we must energetically carry out patriotic education among the cadres and fighters and foster a lofty patriotic spirit of courageously dedicating their all to defending the great socialist motherland.

3. In several decades of arduous struggle our party and army have developed a set of glorious revolutionary traditions that can be used as good teaching aids for educating units. We must regularly carry out education on the aim, character and task of the army, revolutionary heroism, revolutionary optimism and arduous struggle; study the glorious deeds of the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries and revolutionary martyrs; and use the lofty revolutionary spirit of revolutionary predecessors to mold the younger generation, cultivate a fine communist quality in them and bring their revolutionary spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death into play.

4. Under the new historic condition, ideological class struggle is still acute and complex. Nonproletarian ideas and old force of habit in all shapes and colors are ready at all times to affect the units in a variety of ways. We must do a good job of fostering proletarian ideology and eliminating bourgeois ideology so that cadres and fighters can establish a revolutionary outlook on life. Living and fighting in rural base areas, our units in the past had little contact with things. With transport, telecommunications and propaganda facilities increasingly developed, the

links between the units and society are now more extensive than at any time in the past. Proceeding from actual conditions in society, we must be good at understanding and mastering the ideological trend of cadres and fighters, help them correctly handle such problems as the future, honor and disgrace, suffering and joy, life and death, love and marriage and family life. We must cultivate in them the idea of serving the people wholeheartedly.

Political education must not only promote glorious traditions and basic ideological training but also be closely combined with the actual conditions of the modernization of the armed forces. For example, the content of class education centered on pouring out grievances and making three checkups played a very great role in the past, because the central task of the revolution then was to overthrow the three big mountains weighing on the backs of the Chinese people. To voice the grievances of the laboring people against the landlords and exploiting class was in the direct service of this central task. Our basic task now is to build and protect the four modernizations. A fundamental change has taken place in class relations within the country as compared with the period before liberation. Only to recall past sufferings and think of present happiness is not enough. Our basic task must be endowed with such new themes as denouncing the crimes of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," recalling the history of China's backwardness and vulnerability, exposing the crimes of the greater and lesser hegemonists and arousing the hatred of the people toward international class enemies. Now that all the fighters have a higher level of culture and greater comprehensive ability, political education methods must also be improved. Political classes need no longer rely solely on the lectures of political cadres. The latter may organize discussions and report meetings, let advanced standard bearers tell their experiences, have model party members teach party classes and visiting family members talk about the situation, make outside visits and develop electronic teaching by television. They may also include problems the fighters are concerned about and bring controversial questions into special topics and develop mass debates to make political education more lively, vigorous and attractive.

Mastering Modern Military Science and Technology Requires the Guarantee of Strong and Effective Political Work

After the shift in the work emphasis of the army to modernization, education and training have become the central task of the armed forces. This is a strategic problem related to improving the fighting power of our army and winning victory in future antiaggression wars. Political work must bring its own militant role into play and guarantee that units master Comrade Mao Zedong's military thinking and modern military science and technology and improve their military quality. However, in criticizing the fallacy of "the omnipotence of spiritual power" advocated by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," some comrades have neglected the role of the consciousness of the people in training and in various types of work,

particularly since the introduction of material rewards. This tendency must be corrected. It will never do to rely merely on material incentives in modernization; we must still rely primarily on raising the political consciousness of the people. As for developing science and technology, it is even more impossible to replace the dynamic role of the people. Looking back on the several thousand years of mankind's history, we see that the courageous spirit of the people has played a very vital role, whether in close-quarter fighting or in hand-to-hand combat, on ancient battlefields or in modern aerial combat with planes and cannons. We must bring into play the traditional methods of the past, do political work in the midst of military training and various undertakings and guarantee the fulfillment of various tasks.

To bring the commanding and guiding role of politics over military affairs into play, we must first guarantee that cadres and fighters will engage in military training and work under the guidance of the correct ideological line. Comrade Mao Zedong's tactical thinking concerning a people's army and people's war and its strategy is a great enrichment and development of the treasure house of Marxist-Leninist military thinking. Comrade Mao Zedong's military thinking has been a powerful ideological weapon for the proletariat and revolutionary people conducting the revolutionary war. It is our heirloom. As long as the monster of war has not vanished from human society, Comrade Mao Zedong's military thinking will always be the banner for those of us engaged in military activities. To use the correct viewpoint in directing military training, we must conscientiously organize the armed forces to study and master Comrade Mao Zedong's military thinking, completely and correctly understand the system of Mao Zedong's military thought and flexibly apply and develop it in accordance with actual conditions in future warfare. Problems that must be solved include training for war or for show, working for commendations and rewards or for protecting the four modernizations, and applying the developmental and dialectical viewpoint of copying from past experiences. With science and technology currently developing each day, innovations in armaments and changes in operational methods will inevitably be promoted. The study of new operational methods, the development of our military strategies and tactics and the improvement of the organization and command ability of cadres have already become an urgent task on the military front. Political work must more than ever stand in the forefront of such research and development and arm the minds of every commander and fighter with a proletarian world outlook, so that they will scientifically understand the objective laws governing the development of war. Based on the unique features of modern warfare, we should study and explore the strategies and tactics conforming with the reality of war. Ours is a heroic army which has been through decades of armed struggle. During the long revolutionary war period our army created a set of flexible and versatile strategies and tactics and accumulated rich experience in army building and operations.

These henceforth will play an important guiding role. It is wrong to belittle the experiences of the past. Although experience can provide people with the benefit of instruction, it can also easily cause them to become satisfied with existing conditions. Because of this, it can blind them to developing situations. Because of the influence of the concept of small production, a conservative and narrowminded viewpoint and an ideological method of one-sidedness and thinking in terms of the absolute will also easily appear and persist in military research.

In light of these problems, political work must energetically publicize materialism and dialectics and propagate the principle that practice is the sole criterion for testing truth. We must direct everyone to keep on smashing such ideological obstacles as ruts, conventions and "forbidden areas" set up by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." We must direct them to use dialectical and developmental viewpoints to deal with wars. Comrade Mao Zedong said: The correct operational guidance reflects the objective reality in our minds. As long as we get rid of old viewpoints contaminating cadres through arduous and meticulous ideological work to enable the proletariat's dynamic role in understanding the objective laws of war to be brought into play to the greatest extent, we will always be in an invincible position.

The development of modernization demands constant changes in the activities of people. This is why we must give play to the guiding role of political work and foster a good fighting style suited to the needs of future wars against aggression. The application of such heavy arms as rockets and missiles on the battlefield and the emergence of chemical and laser weapons and neutron and atomic bombs will greatly increase killing power and destructiveness. Future wars will be more intense, complex and ruthless. Only if cadres and fighters are educated in peacetime to foster the revolutionary heroism of courageous tenacity and of fighting bravely when left alone, to develop a fine, steady and indomitable quality and to maintain a scientific head can they avoid becoming flustered, shaky and impetuous in battle and showing fear or acting recklessly. In future wars against aggression, the armed forces must fight in concert with the other services. The whole battle will be fought like a giant machine. Only if the armed forces are taught to develop unity and fraternity, close cooperation and strict discipline and have a strong integrated concept in peacetime will they be able to take into consideration the overall battle situation and cooperate with good results. It is not an easy thing to develop the above-mentioned style and quality. This requires thorough and meticulous ideological work and tenacious struggle against such forces of habit of small production as unrestrained disorganization and anarchy. This also requires educating everyone to strictly carry out work according to rules in everyday life and grasp education bit by bit so that the armed forces will develop good habits and styles.

To give play to the guiding role of political work in military training, we must keep on solving ideological training problems so that cadres and fighters will firmly establish the thought of training for battle. We must conduct military training proceeding from the difficult, strict and actual requirements of battle and strive to narrow the gap between actual battle and peacetime training. Long periods of peace can easily cause people to become careless and lazy and lose their enthusiasm for training. Rapid developments in modern weaponry can also easily cause some comrades to lose their confidence in triumphing over the enemy with conventional arms. In light of these problems, we must energetically publicize the importance of military training so that everyone will understand the principle of "more sweat in peacetime means less blood in war." We must publicize the glorious war records of our poorly armed army, which defeated enemies with superior arms, and firmly build up confidence in defeating an enemy with highly modernized armaments by using existing arms. At the same time, we must also develop our strength, energetically study scientific and cultural knowledge and gradually master the skill of using modern arms. During training we must carry out investigations to discover laws governing ideological changes in cadres and fighters under various conditions, take the initiative to properly develop thorough and meticulous ideological work styles, encourage everyone to struggle against such formalistic and deceptive styles as avoiding the difficult in favor of the easy, lowering requirements, going through the motions and rushing things, and persist in studying diligently, training hard and seeking still greater excellence. At the same time, we must realistically help every cadre, instructor and trainer establish a strong mass concept, invigorate the democratic spirit in training so that officers will teach soldiers, soldiers will teach officers and soldiers will teach each other, organize revolutionary emulation drives properly, direct everyone to promote skills, ideology, style and unity and create a lively situation of overtaking and surpassing.

The Mass Line Is Always the Basic Line of Political Work

Socialist modernization and the modernization of the revolutionary army are mass undertakings. We must believe in and rely on the masses and resolutely implement the mass line. Political work is the party's mass work in the army. Its task is to extensively centralize the wisdom and strength of the masses, fully bring into play the initiative and creativity of the masses and struggle for the modernization of national defense. Every one of our political cadres must firmly establish a strong mass concept. This is the basic concept for the success of our political work. After the smashing of the "gang of four," some comrades thought that Lin Biao and the "gang of four" had poisoned our country's younger generation. Since the basic-level cadres and fighters in the units had grown up when the gang was running amuck, these comrades lacked the confidence to help these young cadres and fighters overcome their shortcomings. This method of looking at problems is very one-sided. There is no denying that the ultraleftist line pushed by Lin Biao and the "gang

of four" several years ago definitely influenced the mentality of many young people greatly. However, the masses of young cadres and fighters are essentially and on the whole good. As long as we are good at providing guidance, young people will turn this poison into an antitoxin by means of comparing positive and negative things. They will become stronger and more mature because of the training. In the self-defense counterattack against Vietnam, the heroic behavior and communist spirit displayed by young commanders and newly enlisted fighters vividly proved this point. Naturally, there will always be distinctions between advanced, intermediate and backward commanders and fighters. Some people may be temporarily slower at making ideological progress. This is also a natural phenomenon. The key lies in whether or not we are good in our work. We must resolutely overcome formalistic and simplistic methods that appear in political work because of the poison of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." If we are good at taking account of the level of consciousness of the majority of people and adopting different methods of carrying out work according to the people, we can enable the backward to become advanced and the advanced to become more advanced.

To implement the mass line we must adhere to the principle of "from the masses to the masses." All political education, ideological work and propaganda and agitation must proceed from the ideological reality of the cadres and fighters. For a long time, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" went in for idealistic transcendentalism in a big way, practiced so-called "political movements" divorced from the reality of the masses and criticized the linking up of ideological work with actual conditions in units as "not engaging in proper work" and "pointing the spearhead downward." Under their influence, some political cadres did not proceed from the reality of the masses but simply followed the wind and watched the trend. We must eliminate the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and completely overcome bureaucratism, subjectivism, routinism and formalism. We must go deeply among the masses to investigate and study and acquaint ourselves with what they are doing and thinking and what problems must be solved. We must determine the task, content and method of ideological work based on actual conditions. At the same time, we must bring democracy into full play, be good at making use of the wisdom of the masses and answer their questions on the basis of their experiences. There is no limit to the initiative and creativity of the masses. We must be good at creating conditions, leading the masses to extensively develop activities to win merits and create conditions for handling all the work and tasks to the people, mobilizing everyone to offer plans and make suggestions and calling on all cadres and fighters to compete with each other to be advanced elements and models in the modernization so that their initiative can be fully brought into play.

The various ideological problems of the masses are mostly problems of right and wrong among the people. The solution to these problems can only be achieved in a democratic way by persuasion and education rather than by mandatory and suppressive methods. The officers and men in our

army are equals and like brothers. Each part of political work is identical with the interests of the masses of people. Compulsion and suppression, applying labels and clubbing people cannot really help people solve ideological problems; on the contrary, it will often cause harm to comrades. We should pay particular attention to this in dealing with backward fighters. Solving ideological problems is actually a process of gradually helping fighters to accept the truth. After comprehending revolutionary theory, backward fighters will give vigorous chase and catch up and go ahead.

Ours is a proletarian army with a high degree of political consciousness. There are few armies in the world so concerned with politics and so consciously engaged in political and ideological work as are the cadres and fighters of our armed forces. This is a valuable kind of spirit, and we should bring it into play and actively develop mass political and ideological work. We must set up a contingent of ideological workers with party and CYL members and activists as hardcores and use their exemplary role to influence the masses, show concern for their political progress and hardships, actively take the initiative in developing political and ideological work and become the good teachers and helpful friends of the people. We must pay attention in political and ideological work to giving play to the role of such mass organizations as the CYL and the Revolutionary Armymen's Committee. Based on the emphasis of work in certain periods, party committees and branches must point out the orientation and content of activities, mobilize the masses to make a success of wall posters and bulletins, hold discussion and report meetings, scientific and technical lectures and cultural and entertainment soirees, and develop such military sports activities as swimming, mountain climbing and tugs of war so as to enrich the spiritual life with proletarian ideology.

The building of a modernized revolutionary army is a great and arduous undertaking. Making a success of political work during modernization is a glorious mission bestowed on us by history. All our political cadres should be honored and proud of their work. The political work in the new Long March is a brandnew lesson. There are many things we are unfamiliar with and have never even encountered in the past. All of us are faced with the problem of how to meet change and to study all over again. We must develop lively and vigorous political work together with everyone under the leadership of the Central Committee and the Military Commission of the CCP Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng, keep on accepting new things, studying new problems and summing up new experiences and write a new chapter on the army's political work in the magnificent undertaking of the motherland's four modernizations.

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MASTERY OF IDEOLOGICAL EDUCATION IS AN IMPORTANT FACTOR IN DEFEATING THE ENEMY AND WINNING A BATTLE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 6, 1 Jun 79 pp 39-43

[Article by the theoretical group of the PLA Guangzhou units]

[Text] Editor's Note: A group of combat heroes have arrived in Beijing to give a report on the counter-attack in self-defense action along the Sino-Vietnam border. These combat heroes are the glorious representatives of the Guangxi and Yunnan border defense units and the militiamen who supported the front.

In the counterattack in self-defense action to defend the frontier, our border defense units severely punished the Vietnamese invaders, carried out numerous laudable feats and wrote a new chapter in the glorious history of our army. They are indeed worthy of being the great people's army nurtured by the party and by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Their spirit of patriotism and revolutionary heroism in battle, their lofty quality of dedicating themselves to the party and people, their combat style of fearing neither hardship nor danger, their heroic tenacity, and their strong organizational discipline and communist style represent the finest quality of the whole party and people throughout the country. We must take these combat heroes as our examples and translate "emulate the thinking of the heroes, take the road of the heroes and carry out feats in the manner of the heroes" into actual actions, so that their lofty spirit can be carried forth in every front and become the material force for building and defending the four modernizations.

From the article by the theoretical group of the PLA Guangzhou units published in this issue, we can see

the power of ideological and political work from the counterattack in self-defense against Vietnam.
"Political work is the lifeblood of all economic work."
Like an army fighting a war, the strengthening of ideological and political work is important to the building of a great and strong socialist country with the four modernizations.

In the counterattack in self-defense along the Sino-Vietnamese border, the heroism of fearing neither hardship nor death and the patriotic spirit displayed by the border defense units of Yunnan and Guangxi have won praise from the whole army and people throughout the country. The valor and skill of the Chinese border defense units have even been grudgingly acknowledged by the Vietnamese invaders who had a taste of their might.

The practice of the counterattack in self-defense has proved that after the smashing of the "gang of four," strengthening the army and preparing against war, under the correct leadership of the Central Committee and the Military Commission of the CCP Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng, were the result of the fine traditions and heroic tenacity of our army. Its impressive display in battle was equal to that in any past battles. The PLA is indeed worthy of being a great people's army. The practice of this counterattack in self-defense has also explained that the political work of the party is a strong and powerful force in the army. Carrying forth the fine traditions of political work in our army during the war years, the border defense units have not stopped carrying out ideological and political work in close conjunction with various fighting tasks, fully brought into play the tremendous power of ideological and political work and guaranteed the victorious conclusion of the battle and the fulfillment of its tasks. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Ideological education is the key link to be grasped in uniting the whole party for great political struggles." This has again been proved in the counterattack in self-defense against Vietnam. Political work has been and continues to be the lifeblood of the army and the source of its fighting power, and this is an infallible truth.

Improving Ideological Consciousness Produces Fighting Power

Our party and our army have all along had a fine tradition of always placing ideological work in the lead in any major struggle and informing the masses of the object, meaning and demand of the struggle. This is the same in battle. A revolutionary war is a people's war, and it can only be carried out by mobilizing the masses and won by relying on the masses. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "To win a battle, the fighters as well as the officers must be of one heart. After the troops in northern Shaanxi went through training and consolidation and poured out their grievances against the old social order, the fighters heightened their political consciousness and understood why they were fighting and how they should fight. Every one of them rolled up his sleeves for

battle. Their morale was very high, and as soon as they went into action they won victory." ("A Talk to the Editorial Staff of the SHAANXI-SUIYUAN DAILY") Knowing the goal of fighting is the art of Marxist-Leninist leadership and the military application of the mass line. In the counterattack in self-defense, the border defense units informed the masses of commanders and fighters about the political objective of the counterattack, so that all cadres and fighters would understand why they were fighting. This is an important factor in arousing enthusiasm in battle and guaranteeing victory.

The ideological education of the Guangxi border defense units which took part in the counterattack in self-defense emphasized the following: First, it denounced the Vietnamese authorities' crime of returning kindness with ingratitude and showing hostility to China, and it established the patriotic idea of defending the frontier of the motherland and the four modernizations. Denouncing the crime of the Vietnamese invaders is a good method of class and patriotic education. This is a way of voicing grievances which has been effective in the long history of our army under the new historic condition. Then the units are organized to study the relevant expositions of the teachers of revolution on the nature of war, analyze why the Vietnamese authorities are expressing hostility toward China and pointing the spearhead of aggression against our country, and understand the reactionary nature of the regional hegemonism and national expansionism pushed by the Vietnamese authorities with the help of the Soviet Union. This war provoked by the Vietnamese invaders was instigated and supported by Soviet social imperialism. The counterattack by our army was logical. We were justified in taking action, and justice and truth are wholly on our side. Second, it contrasted the morale of the soldiers and people and the military strength of the enemy and ourselves. The analysis of the Vietnamese invaders' frailty and difficulties ripped away the Vietnamese myth of being "the No. 3 military power in the world" and increased our confidence and determination to fight and win victory and to make a name for the army and the country. By means of this comparison, the commanders and fighters were able to see the many favorable conditions our army had for defeating the enemy. The counterattack against the Vietnamese invaders was short and victory certain. At the same time, we also acquainted ourselves with the characteristics of the enemy and discovered methods of attacking their shortcomings with our strong points. Thus, we were able not only to despise the enemy strategically but also to respect them tactically and combine great indomitable revolutionary heroism with conscientious scientific spirit. Third, it developed activities to study traditions and emulate heroes and established the heroic spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death and daring to prevail over all difficulties and enemies. The border defense units invited old comrades and heroes to make reports, display one by one the glorious battle standards of former battles against the Japanese invaders and Chiang Kai-shek, lecture about their glorious traditions, explain the heroic feats of the 17 warriors who forded the Dadu River, the five heroes of Langya Mountain,

Dong Cunrui and Huang Jiguang, and establish revolutionary outlooks on life and death, suffering and joy, and honor and disgrace. This has educated the units to understand that China's socialist system and the conditions for carrying out the large-scale four modernizations have been obtained at the cost of the lives and blood of revolutionary martyrs and that we must not begrudge defending them with our lives and blood. The glorious duty of a PLA fighter is to dedicate his life to socialism and establish a revolutionary outlook on life and death. We must use the models of the Red Army who crossed snow-capped mountains and grasslands and survived on leather belts and roots. We must study the examples of the People's Volunteers who washed their faces with snow to educate the units, inherit and carry forward our army's fine tradition of courageous combat and fine style of fearing neither sacrifice nor fatigue and continuous fighting, and establish the revolutionary outlook on suffering and joy. We must use accepting challenges, conceding honors, competing for heavy work and spearheading attacks to educate the units, regard defending the four modernizations and upholding the dignity of the Chinese people as the greatest glory, and establish the revolutionary outlook on honor and disgrace.

Political consciousness will give rise to fighting capacity. Because of the extensive and thoroughgoing ideological education, the ideological consciousness of the border defense commanders and fighters has been greatly enhanced. The condition is just as Comrade Mao Zedong portrayed and acclaimed it after the reorganization movement in the armed forces: "The army has become united as one man, with everybody contributing his ideas and his strength. It is an army that does not fear sacrifice and is capable of overcoming material difficulties, displays mass heroism and dares to destroy the enemy." After having been tested and tempered in the flames of war, large numbers of heroic collectives and heroes have appeared in the Guangxi border defense units, and many laudable and stirring heroic feats have been performed. To win victory and care for the interests of the motherland and people, many cadres and fighters stepped forward at the crucial moment, completely disregarding their safety and facing death unflinchingly. Though wounded, many comrades refused to withdraw from the frontline. Though in a coma, they still kept murmuring, "Fight to the end to defend the frontier and the four modernizations." Some of the breakthrough units went for several days without food, and the cadres and fighters lived on roots and wild plants. They still continued to march and fight and maintain high morale. Regardless of how strong or heavily defended the enemy fortifications might have been, some of the assault units were not afraid to fight hard with valor and strategy and manifest their great, indomitable revolutionary spirit. These laudable feats have fully proven that giving play to the fine tradition of political work and unremittingly arousing the spirit of patriotism and revolutionary heroism of the commanders and fighters will give rise to a tremendous fighting capacity.

Practice is the sole criterion for testing truth. War examines all the normal work of units while simultaneously distinguishing right and wrong on questions of military theory. Wars must be fought with iron and steel; weapons are the important factor for vanquishing the enemy. At the same time, it is also necessary to fight courageously, because weaponry must be handled by people. Only by closely bringing people with high proletarian consciousness and modern weaponry together can the people's army become all-conquering and invincible. Among the various kinds of preparatory work involved in war, the most important is political and ideological. We do not accept the theory that spirit is all powerful. We oppose exaggerating the role of the spirit into something omnipotent and most mysterious. Lin Biao said that spiritual forces could "replace" and even "transcend" material ones. This is an idealistic fallacy. We are dialectical materialists. We admit to the great dynamic role of the human spirit on a certain material foundation. Man must always have a bit of spirit. The permeation of ideological and political education in various kinds of work will guarantee the fulfillment of various tasks. Whether it was during those years when there was nothing but millet and rifles or today when all services must fight in coordination, strong and effective revolutionary political work is an important factor for triumphing over the enemy.

Integrate Ideological Education With Military Training and Fighting Battles

How can one carry out ideological education work in wartime? To meet the needs of fighting battles, the border defense units have conscientiously implemented the spirit of the All-Army Political Work Conference, carried forth the fine tradition of our army's ideological and political work, eliminated the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," let ideological education run through the entire process of military training and fighting battles, and endeavored to create a new situation in which there is lively and vigorous ideological and political work of a mass nature.

In a 1944 report "On the Question of Political Work in the Army," the political department of the army corps on garrison duty pointed out: "The orientation of political work is the orientation of the whole army." The task of political work can only be laid down in line with the basic, immediate and concrete tasks of our army. "Any form of organization or work mode or method is produced according to conditions and tasks, belongs to a given condition and task and should change according to changing conditions and tasks. This also applies to the form of organization or work mode or method in political work." The tasks and work methods of the army's political work put forth here are a summary of the experience of our army in the long period of the revolutionary war. They have the character of law and have become the fine traditions of our army. In the self-defense counterattack, the border defense units emphasized that leading members and organs at all levels should uphold the principle of

putting everything in the service of war and victory and develop ideological and political work closely focused on military operations. They put the emphasis on proceeding from reality, distinguishing different targets and pinpointing different problems to carry out ideological education with a definite objective in view. They emphasized that flexible and diversified forms and methods must be utilized and that such forms and methods must change with the changing condition of any of the tasks. They emphasized that ideological and political work is the work of the party and the common task of various trades and professions. They mobilized everyone to work together. They emphasized changing the normal work style of following the prescribed order and moving at a sluggish pace into one of cultivating a fast and accurate work style. Ideological and political education and military operations were thus turned into a powerful force, and the demands of command translated into conscious mass action embodying unanimity in the political work task and the self-defense counterattack task, along with unanimity in ideological education methods and the self-defense counterattack condition and task. Consequently, with everybody from the frontline to the rear area, from cadres to fighters and political cadres to military and technical cadres all offering suggestions and giving a hand, wartime ideological work was carried out in a lively and more vigorous manner.

When Lin Biao and the "gang of four" ran amuck, they caused serious harm to the political and ideological work of units. They used such reactionary bourgeois politics as studying the history of the struggle between the Confucianists and the Legalists and hitting back at the right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts and corrupt units. They went in for formalism in a big way. This caused politics to become divorced from military affairs, ideological education from the tasks of the units, and political work forms and methods from actual conditions, impaired the fighting power of the units and caused us to suffer seriously. The political and ideological work of the self-defense counterattack was a major cleansing of the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." The education of the war has compelled us to correct such phenomena as "across-the-board measures," "going through the motions" and not paying attention to actual results; believing that work cannot be carried out without a great deal of time and engaging in frenzied activity without a proper long-term plan; and the situation in which political cadres work in isolation and behave indifferently and apathetically to ideological and political work.

Proceeding from reality to carry out education in the light of different targets and problems and to do ideological work thoroughly, meticulously and solidly, new fighters, upon joining their units, had to go directly into battle. We must actively grasp the purpose of our army's education and educate new fighters to establish the thought of defending the frontier and the four modernizations. We must organize old and new fighters to help each other, give publicity to advanced models among new fighters and help them make the proper transition from being civilians to being

fighters. We must pay special attention to the education of old fighters about to be demobilized, so that they will understand what the glorious duty of an old fighter should be at the critical moment when the country is being invaded, and how they can be worthy of the trust of the party and the mandate of the people. When the cadres and fighters went to the front, work had to be carried out in the rear area. Some units organized comrades on garrison duty to pay regular visits to the families of cadres to inquire about their conditions and help them solve actual problems. Family dependents wrote letters to the front encouraging their dear ones to destroy the enemy and perform meritorious services. Some cadres said: "Such concern on the part of the leadership has lifted a burden from our minds. We shall go to fight wherever we are sent." Some units developed such mass activities as holding close talks, exchanging ideas and solving ideological problems, all of which brought their positive factors into play and filled them with enthusiasm.

Integrating ideological education with military training and fighting battles will build up the confidence of daring to fight and win on a solid material and technical basis, so that the determination of daring to fight can be translated into the practical action of being good fighters. The border defense units organized commanders and fighters to study the military thinking of Comrade Mao Zedong and developed various "anticipated" situations, studied problems, discussed tactics, mulled over various problems encountered in combat and visualized methods of solving them based on military operations, intelligence and the mountainous nature of the terrain. They also demanded that the commanders and fighters, in their prebattle training, instill the spirit of patriotism and revolutionary heroism radiating from education in war preparations and set strict demands on them to train seriously. They educated the units to foster a fighting style of heroic tenacity, fearing no fatigue and fighting continuously. In connection with training and in battle, they promptly issued simple but effective slogans of inspiration and encouragement to arouse the will of the units to fight and win victory. When fighting was most intense, the commanders of many units passed encouraging slogans along with battle orders. Cadres and party members of company units shouted encouragement as they fought. When charging the enemy's positions, they called out: "The time has come to earn merits for the people. Let us advance to victory!" When in pursuit they shouted: "Give chase and do not let a single enemy escape!" When the attack bogged down, they shouted: "Fear no setbacks or sacrifices, victory will be ours!" When in temporary difficulty, they shouted: "We must suffer great hardships, make great efforts and fight resolutely to the end!" Such slogans greatly inspired the units.

With everybody offering suggestions and giving encouragement, they developed flexible and diversified ideological and political work of a mass nature in close association with military training and actual operations. They developed revolutionary activity using letters from home. Company units read letters aloud from fathers encouraging children,

brothers encouraging brothers and wives exhorting husbands to destroy the enemy and earn merit. They also organized discussions on "How can we fulfill the great expectations of parents and friends?" These letters from home, which conveyed the hopes of the people, linked the frontline with the rear area and united them in battle against the common foe. Before going off to battle, they held pledge-taking ceremonies to express their determination and formulated plans to destroy the enemy, "earn merits in the self-defense counterattack and become heroes in defending the frontier." In addition, they whipped up an upsurge of competing to be combat heroes and meritorious officials of the people. All company units and squads requested to be sent where the work was most heavy and dangerous. They organized emulation drives—"comparing who would be the heroes and brave warriors on the field of battle!" In battle they promptly put units and individuals on record who fought well and rendered meritorious service. The conferring of honors on the battlefront inspired everyone to emulate those who had won such honors, in addition to inspiring those who had won such honors to redouble their efforts and win fresh ones. In lulls between battles, they made use of the presentation of citations and banners, publishing of frontline bulletins and making of broadcasts and telephone reports to promptly transmit the news of victory and deeds of valor to the units. The behests of the martyrs before their death and the words of the wounded before their evacuation were most touching. Leading members at various levels also braved the rain of bullets to visit units at the front and bring letters and presents from all parts of the country. The messages from people back home and the entreaties of comrades-in-arms became a tremendous spiritual force of the units for destroying the enemy and earning merit. This was greatly welcomed by commanders and fighters, who delightedly said: What we like to hear most in battle is the news of victory, what we like to see most is frontline bulletins, what we like to read most is letters of appreciation and what we like to emulate most are deeds of valor. In short, using all available time to develop flexible and diversified ideological and political work and succeeding in always having encouragement and publicity will reflect the enthusiasm, initiative and flexibility of political work. The fighters reflected: "The fine tradition of our army's political work during the war years has returned!"

Political work must be carried out together with various other types of work. This was consistently advocated by Comrade Mao Zedong before his death, and it is also our party's traditional method. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" advocated that "politics can override military affairs" and "politics can override everything." Whoever tried to combine political work with military and economic work was guilty of "grasping the minor issue and not the major or fundamental one." This is the kind of fallacy that completely set politics against military affairs and economics. Outwardly they praised political work to the sky, but actually they abolished its commanding and guaranteeing role and completely ruined the prestige of the party's political work. Practice has

proven: Carrying out ideological education together with military work and applying diversified and flexible methods not only can overcome the shortcomings of political work in general but also can push forward the ideological work of military and rear service cadres and give better play to the power of ideological and political work.

Charging at the Head of the Men Is the Mark of Authority of Political Cadres

When Lin Biao and the "gang of four" ran amuck, the greatest harm they caused to our party's political work was to separate theory from practice. This seriously impaired the prestige of the political organs and political cadres. At the All-Army Political Work Conference, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "Political work cadres must place still more emphasis on being exemplary. That is what we did during the war years of the past. At that time, if you were not brave in battle and feared death, if you were not of one heart with the rank and file and did not stay in contact with reality and the masses, your political work would go unheeded." In this self-defense counterattack, the practical action of charging at the head of the men shown by the political cadres, and especially the basic-level cadres, of the border defense units restored the glorious tradition of the political work of our party and army.

Many old comrades went deep into the battlefield to pass on their experiences and set the pace. They were models not only of heroic battle but also of political work. Many political organs and political cadres went to the frontline and carried out political work in every stage of the fighting, along with carrying out such military operations as making breakthroughs, storming fortifications, mopping up and counterambushing. Political work was most active where conditions were most difficult and fighting most intense. They gave full expression to the timeliness, stubbornness and militancy of our army's political work. This enabled units to always maintain high battle enthusiasm. The more they fought, the more courageous and strong they became. On the battlefield, what the fighters frequently heard from political cadres was: "Follow me!" and "Charge after me!" The actions they frequently saw were: The cadres always charged in front and always protected the rear. At critical moments they always stepped forward. Faced with temporary setbacks they were always composed and calm. Under difficult conditions they always handed the easy work to others and took the difficult for themselves. The comrades delightedly said: "The slogans are loud, but their actions are even louder. In them we can see the image of the older generation of political cadres." Political instructor Ho Xixiang was given the title of combat hero. He stormed an enemy position at the head of his men and destroyed an enemy platoon. After completing the assault and returning to our position, he was again guarding the safe withdrawal of the 2d Platoon when he heroically laid down his life. Even now, the heroic image of Comrade Ho Xixiang waving his revolver at the critical moment and shouting "Comrades, follow me!" is still vividly etched in

the minds of the cadres and fighters of the whole company. "Comrades, follow me!" The work group of the political department of a certain division, which followed the 7th Platoon of a certain company into battle when making a breakthrough in the enemy's forward position and beating off successive enemy encirclements, carried out political work while fighting. The group stormed enemy defenses together with the commanders and fighters of the company, threw back 13 counterattacks one after another and killed over 470 enemy soldiers.

Practice has proven that both in the past and at present the exemplary role of cadres, especially political ones, not only carries weight but also is politically inspiring. To restore and carry forward the fine traditions of our party and army, our political cadres must set themselves up as examples. Political work is the work of the party. Political cadres must first be models in uniting theory with practice and in obeying discipline and setting the pace in implementing party policies and tactics. Only thus can the principles advertised by political cadres be convincing and the actions they advocate have any appeal. The masses are always listening to the cadres and watching their actions. If the latter say one thing but do something else, even if their slogans are very loud, they will be most despised by the people. In this way, not only will they not make a success of political work, but they will also damage the party's prestige.

Lenin pointed out in 1919: Where political work among the troops is conducted most thoroughly, generally speaking "we have no laxity in the army, and its organization and morale are best; we have the most victories there." ("All Out for the Fight Against Denikin!" "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 34) In the self-defense counterattack along the Sino-Vietnamese border and the operation to defend the frontier, our border defense units again verified this truth. In those units which carried out education in patriotism and revolutionary heroism extensively and thoroughly, mass ideological work was active; in those which combined ideological and political work with military work, army morale was good, the will to fight high, the fighting capacity strong and victories more plentiful. This explains that the strengthening of ideological and political work and the firm grasping of ideological education--the key link of the great struggle--is an indispensable magic formula not only for defending but also for building the four modernizations.

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PERSISTENTLY CARRY FORWARD SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

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[Article by Shang Zhe [0794 0772]]

[Text] The present high tide of people's democracy is a major indication of the fast development of the political situation in China since the downfall of the "gang of four." This was put forward at the third plenum of the 11th party Central Committee: "To meet the needs of socialist modernization, the plenum decided to strengthen democracy in party life and in the political life of the state." This decision is a summary of our party's experiences and lessons. It is entirely compatible with the actual situation in our country and has aroused a strong response within the party and among the people of the whole country.

I

Marxism holds that democracy is primarily a state system. Lenin said: "Democracy is also a state." ("The State and Revolution," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 185) "The abolition of the state also means the abolition of democracy; the withering away of the state means the withering away of democracy." (Ibid., p 241) At first sight this assertion seems "incomprehensible." However, Lenin disclosed the nature of democracy as a state system here. Like any ordinary part of the political superstructure, democracy of any kind is determined by the economic base of a certain society and serves it. Capitalist democracy is a state system of the bourgeoisie; socialist democracy is a state system of the proletariat. When a state achieves complete democracy in political form, it will cease to function as a state. By that time the withering away of the state will mean the withering away of democracy. If we study the problem of democracy by proceeding from the state system, we can understand that any attempt to weaken or sabotage socialist democracy will lead to the danger that our proletarian state system will change its nature.

As a state system, democracy is inevitably linked with dictatorship. Democracy and dictatorship are actually two sides of the same question

for the state. A state will always apply democracy to some of its people and exercise dictatorship over others. Lenin said this very clearly: A proletarian state "must inevitably be a state that is democratic in a new way (for the proletariat and the propertyless in general) and dictatorial in a new way (against the bourgeoisie)." (Ibid., p 200) Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out when he talked about the people's democratic dictatorship: "The combination of democracy for the people and dictatorship over reactionaries is the people's democratic dictatorship." ("On the People's Democratic Dictatorship") When we talk about the proletarian dictatorship we mean proletarian democracy as well. A state cannot exercise proletarian dictatorship if it does not develop democracy for the majority of people and exercise dictatorship over a small number of people.

Historical experience tells us that severing the relationship between democracy and dictatorship will lead to rightist or "leftist" mistakes. The danger will be more serious when dictatorship is extended--within the party and among the people. This is because the greatest superiority of the socialist system is that democracy is extended to the overwhelming majority of people. This is also the most essential characteristic of proletarian dictatorship. If we cannot correctly estimate the situation of class struggle, and if we exaggerate enemy activity, we shall confuse the two types of qualitatively different contradictions, mistake the large number of contradictions of the nature of contradictions among the people as contradictions between the enemy and ourselves, and handle them by dictatorship rather than by democratic methods. For example, ideological problems and academic polemics among the people and differences of opinion among the people over certain party guidelines and policies may be settled by discussion, criticism and self-criticism, persuasion and education. However, when these questions are taken as a "reflection" of class struggle between the enemy and ourselves, the nature will be different. Broadening the scope of class struggle will inevitably lead to broadening the scope of dictatorship, violate the people's democratic rights and damage and disrupt socialist democracy. However, out of their counterrevolutionary political needs, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" went all out to separate democracy from dictatorship. They advocated such absurdities as "political power means power of suppression" and "overall dictatorship," wantonly reversed enemies and comrades, refused to extend democracy to cadres and people and exercised the most cruel fascist dictatorship over them. Appearing in an ultraleftist form, this sabotage of socialist democracy meant greater danger and practically changed the nature of proletarian dictatorship.

We also must pay attention to opposing another trend, as shown by people coming from the right to negate the necessity of dictatorship. For example, some people say: "Dictatorship implies the abolition of democracy." They seem to say that only when the proletarian dictatorship has been abolished can there be democracy. This wrong viewpoint must be criticized. In a state under the proletarian dictatorship, only when the dictatorship has been exercised against the handful of class

enemies can the democratic rights of the vast number of people be protected. We may imagine: If we allow a handful of counterrevolutionaries and criminals to do evil without being seriously punished, can there be good order in production, daily work and society? Can the four modernizations be achieved smoothly? Can there be conditions for people to exercise democratic rights? Meanwhile, only when socialist democracy has been promoted in full measure will it be possible to fully arouse the people's enthusiasm for socialism, effectively exercise dictatorship over the handful of class enemies and smoothly accomplish our economic and political tasks. By negating dictatorship, these people are actually advertising some worthless stuff such as "pure democracy" and "general democracy."

Proletarian democracy (or socialist democracy) is democracy in its highest form and "is a million times more democratic than any bourgeois democracy." ("The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 634) Democracy of this kind is absolutely not a simple, quantitative extension of bourgeois democracy; it is essentially different from it. It is a new type of democracy founded by thoroughly smashing the bourgeois state machine. Its characteristic is that it is based on public ownership of the means of production, so that it is enjoyed by the overwhelming majority of the exploited and oppressed instead of being enjoyed by a very few exploiters. It has thoroughly changed the situation in which the people lack democracy as in capitalist societies. Some people cannot distinguish between the two types of democratic systems, because they have been misled by the propaganda of "parliamentarianism," "two-party systems" and "universal suffrage" and the so-called "human rights" of capitalist countries. Thus, they make a fetish of bourgeois democracy and sigh with regret that "socialist democracy is not as good as bourgeois democracy." However, all these ornaments of bourgeois democracy cannot disprove the ironclad fact that bourgeois democracy is also bourgeois dictatorship. The authors of Marxist classics have criticized this profusely and very incisively. Marx denounced the bourgeois parliament as a "pigsty." Lenin pointed out: In a parliamentary country "the real business of 'state' is performed behind the scenes and is carried on by the departments, chancelleries and general staffs. Parliament itself is given up to talk for the special purpose of fooling the 'common people.'" ("The State and Revolution," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 210) The purpose of bourgeois universal suffrage is to decide once every few years which members of the ruling class are to repress and crush the people through parliament. As regards the "two-party system," one party is in power and the other in opposition. They accuse each other and take the helm of state in turn. Everything seems to be democratic. In fact, this is only an intensive expression of the contention between monopoly financial groups for state power and a show of swapping horses staged by the monopoly groups. For example, Engels acutely exposed the U.S. two-party system: "We find here two great gangs of political speculators who alternately take possession of state power and exploit it by the most

corrupt means and for the most corrupt ends—and the nation is powerless against these two great cartels of politicians, who ostensibly are its servants but in reality dominate and plunder it." ("Introduction to 'The Civil War in France,'" "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 22, p 227) In recent years the imperialist countries have gone further in wantonly advertising "human rights" as the main features of "democracy for the whole people" and as "genuine democracy." However, what right have they to talk about "human rights"? Their economies "flourish" by plundering and squeezing their people and bleeding white the people of their colonies and semicolonies. Politically, they have been more reckless in invading other countries and enslaving the people there. This is still fresh in the memories of the Chinese people. In the imperialist countries, as long as private ownership exists, the workers can only serve as hired labor and be exploited and oppressed by the bourgeoisie. Lenin said: "From the point of view of the proletariat, the question can be put only in the following way: Freedom from the oppression of which class; equality between which classes; and democracy based on private property or on a struggle for the abolition of private property?" ("Economics and Politics in the Era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 93) These words have told people an irrefutable truth: Parted from the viewpoint of class struggle, you will be misled by false appearances of all kinds and cannot see the essence of the matter.

II

Generally speaking, democracy comprises the relationship between democracy and dictatorship as well as between democracy and centralization. Democratic centralism is the form of structure and the organizational principle of state power under proletarian dictatorship. It is also a very important aspect of the proletarian state system.

Application of the principle of democratic centralism in a socialist country is determined by the nature of that country. In a country under the dictatorship of the exploiting classes, its political power, whatever form or structure it may assume, invariably is diametrically opposed to the people. Its democracy can only be democracy within the ruling classes, and its centralism has to be centralism under bureaucratic autocracy. On the other hand, a socialist country is no longer a country as its original meaning suggests but a country where the people are masters. Such a country never allows itself to separate from the people or act against their interests and will; it must rely completely on the people and intensively realize their interests and will. This determines that its centralism must be democratic centralism of the people and that its organizational principle must follow the system combining democracy and centralization.

Democracy and centralism are related to each other as in a unity of opposites. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "What is centralism? First of all,

it is a centralization of correct ideas, on the basis of which unity of understanding, policy, planning, command and action are achieved. This is called centralized unification." ("Talks at an Enlarged Central Work Conference") By centralism we do not mean centralism in form or "centralism" whereby the words of a certain leader or a certain level are simply regarded as final; we mean centralization of opinions which are correct in content and essence. To achieve this end, the first prerequisite is that the broad masses of people must enjoy extensive democracy and freedom so that they will fully display their initiative as master of the house, dare to speak the truth and say all they know and without reserve. Efforts must be made to protect the people's rights to manage and supervise their country. Only on this base of extensive democracy will it be possible to avoid subjectivism, formulate correct guidelines, policies and methods and exercise correct, centralized and unified leadership. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "If we fail to promote democracy in full measure, then will this centralism and this unification be true or false? Will it be real or empty? Will it be correct or incorrect? Of course, it must be false, empty and incorrect." (Ibid.) Correct leadership always applies the method of exercising leadership by taking the mass line, which means that ideas should come from the masses and then go back to them, that is, they are pooled together and then carried out at the lower levels. This is also a method of centralized and unified leadership based on democracy.

Some comrades tend to put centralism in opposition to democracy and talk about centralism by separating it from democracy. They do not understand that, as far as democratic centralism is concerned, democracy is primary and centralism secondary and that democracy is the premise and base of centralism. Once they are separated from the masses, some people refuse to listen to the opinions of the masses. In particular, they flatly reject the opinions of the masses who disclose and criticize their defects and mistakes. They even use the labels of "opposing the leaders" and "opposing the party" to suppress differing opinions and muzzle the voices of the masses. Subsequently, a very bad practice develops. An opinion differing from that held by a certain comrade is interpreted as opposing this comrade. One who disagrees with a certain organization or leader is accused of opposition. As a result, what a leader in an area or department says becomes final, and the masses have to obey him absolutely and are not allowed to criticize or supervise him; democracy cannot be promoted, and the masses dare not voice their views and needs. Instead, the evil practice of lying and flattering comes into vogue. This kind of "centralism," void of the masses and without democracy as its base, can only be centralism under individual autocracy. It does serious damage to democratic centralism. This abnormal situation developed to its peak when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" ran wild. They turned centralism completely into fascist autocracy. They vigorously concocted counterrevolutionary public opinion, and their ideas were the only ones people could follow. They went in for modern fetishes and new obscurantism. As a result, people's thinking was stifled and their

democratic rights suppressed. Here we can also see that, in a country under proletarian dictatorship, excessive centralism or blind faith in personal power spells damage to democratic centralism. Thus, there will be the danger that a party or a country will change its nature.

Of course, in opposing this kind of personal autocracy and emphasizing centralism based on democracy, we do not mean to carry democracy to the extreme. By democracy we mean democracy guided by centralism. Ideologically, centralized guidance means that we must take Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as the guide; organizationally, we must develop democracy under good leadership and in a well-organized way. Democracy separated from these two requirements can only cause ultrademocracy to spread unchecked. Some of the opinions of the masses are correct, some wrong, some rational but unfeasible for the time being, and so forth. Should everyone be allowed to act as he pleases and do as some people say, "I do what I want"? Of course not. This necessitates the exercise of correct centralism. Otherwise, there cannot be unity in thinking and action, socialist revolution and construction cannot progress smoothly and normal social life cannot be maintained.

Innumerable facts tell us: Only when democratic centralism is built on the unity of democracy and centralism will it be possible to prevent anarchism and bureaucratism.

A characteristic of anarchism is that it opposes centralization and authority, rejects leadership and discipline and is interested in "absolute democracy" and personal "absolute freedom." People influenced by this idea misinterpret socialist democracy as freedom from any kind of restrictions and hold that everything should be done according to "my" opinion or otherwise there is no democracy. To make personal gains, some people take the promotion of democracy as a pretext to neglect laws and make trouble, even going to the extent of violating normal social order and upsetting the highly favorable situation of stability and unity. In what way is this similar to the democracy guided by centralism? Emergence of anarchist ideas does not result from promoting democracy and liberating minds, as some people think. On the contrary, it is an obstacle to the promotion of democracy and a factor violating it.

Another erroneous idea interprets democratic centralism as "the root cause of bureaucratism." Actually, bureaucratism comes into being as a country run by exploiting classes emerges; it is a special product of a bureaucratic government. The nature of a country run by exploiting classes determines this system of bureaucratic government. The bureaucrats of the bureaucratic clique speak for the interests of the ruling classes, run the country and oppress the people according to the laws of the ruling classes. They enjoy privileges, lord it over the people and lead a parasitic life. In a socialist country a democratic government operates, and the cadres of the party and the state are the people's servants, empowered by the people. Fundamentally, a socialist country

and the democratic centralism it exercises cannot be related to bureaucratism. On the contrary, the cadres of our country only have the duty of accepting supervision by the masses and do not have the right to lord it over the people, because our centralism is based on democracy and is a unity of democracy and centralization. This is a precise basic guarantee for preventing and overcoming bureaucratism.

However, as mentioned above, personal autocracy and other bureaucratic habits still exist among some cadres of our party and state, rather seriously in some cases. This situation absolutely should not be allowed in a socialist country and must be stopped resolutely. A concrete analysis should also be made of the causes of bureaucratism. We must see that because China's socialist society emerged from the old society it has to bear the vestiges of the old society. Past centuries of feudal bureaucratic rule in old China have left very deep influences. In addition, the level of productive forces and the cultural level of the working people in China have posed restrictions, our state system is not perfect, and, in particular, the reckless disruption of socialist democratic centralism by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" has had adverse effects. These are the causes of the bad bureaucratic habits in some party and government cadres. Therefore, these causes should in no way be attributed to the socialist system or democratic centralism. Otherwise, we shall be taken in by such wrong sayings as "feudal socialism."

Some other people put party leadership in opposition to the promotion of democracy. This is actually a reflection of putting democracy in opposition to centralism. The reason is that centralized and unified leadership must be exercised through the Communist Party; that is to say, we must uphold party leadership. Facts prove incontrovertibly that without the Communist Party there would have been no new China and nothing for the people. Trampled upon and violated by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the democratic rights of the people have been revived and carried forward very quickly today. Is this not because we have the leadership of a long-tested party? Our party is the vanguard of the proletariat. It speaks for the interests and will of the proletariat and the working people. It promotes democracy fully and extensively and exercises correct centralism on this basis. It also takes democratic centralism as its organizational principle. Therefore, strengthening party leadership and developing democracy are compatible with each other and promote each other. A few people maliciously rant that "there cannot be democracy unless the party is liquidated." In an attempt to overthrow the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, they are committing the crime of hoisting a flag of democracy while sowing dissension between the party and the masses. We must be highly vigilant against this.

III

In the sense of being part of the superstructure, democracy, like centralism, dictatorship and other political forms, is a means subordinate

to the economic base. The socialist economic base determines that we must uphold the socialist democratic system, and that if this democratic system does not suit the economic base, it must be reformed and improved step by step. At the same time, in talking about democracy we must not part from the general goal of consolidating the socialist economic base. That is to say, we must not separate democracy from socialist revolution and construction; otherwise, we shall go astray. At present, when the focus of our party's work has been shifted to socialist modernization, we must persistently carry socialist democracy forward. However, while doing so we must not swerve from the goal of the four modernizations.

Currently there is an ideological trend among some cadres. They talk about the four modernizations by separating them from the promotion of socialist democracy. They put socialist democracy and the four modernizations in absolute opposition. They always feel that the series of democratic measures and policies for political and economic work adopted after the third plenum of the 11th party Central Committee are tying them hand and foot and that the method of "rule by the voice of one man alone" which they were accustomed to in the past is more "effective." When they see some undesirable phenomena in society, they are deeply worried and say, "Democracy is too much for the masses to accept" and "Promotion of democracy disrupts stability and unity and impedes the four modernizations." Actually, the pernicious influence of the "gang of four's" obscurantist policy, the policy of confinement and an ultraleftist line, has not been swept away from these comrades. This ideological trend is closely related to the ossification and semiossification of their thinking. This is what Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out long ago: "The evil feudal practice of arbitrary dictation is so deeply rooted in the minds of the people and even of ordinary party members that it cannot be swept away at once; when anything crops up, they choose the easy way and have no liking for the bothersome democratic system." ("The Struggle in the Jinggang Mountains") Some others regard the promotion of socialist democracy as an expedient, unnecessary measure and are not serious about it. They take no action to admonish the people who have said or done something at variance with socialist principles; instead, they adopt liberal attitudes toward them. Holding this wrong idea, these comrades think that our proposal of "upholding the four basic principles" now means "restriction" and "correcting deviations." What a muddled ideal! A few comrades even regard promotion of socialist democracy as "first letting things drift and then holding them fast." This is very wrong.

Another trend which exists among some people puts promotion of democracy in opposition to the four modernizations. These people act against the latter while talking profusely about democracy. There are people today who put forward the slogan "Fight for democracy" and take it as the goal of struggle. They are obviously wrong. Of course, a concrete analysis must be made of the slogan "Fight for democracy." Under certain historical conditions, as during the May 4th Movement, the years under the dark rule of the Kuomintang and when the "gang of four" ran wild, this

slogan played a progressive role. However, these historical conditions have completely changed. In a country under a proletarian dictatorship like ours, especially since Lin Biao and the "gang of four" have been smashed, we cannot help asking these people who still put forward such a slogan: Against whom do you want to "fight for democracy"? What is the purpose of your "fight for democracy"? Actually, some people want to attain their ulterior purpose under the pretext of "fighting for democracy." When they babble that "there can be no democracy without reforming the socialist political system," they put forward the slogan "Fight for democracy" but actually act against socialism. Does this not clearly show their ulterior purpose? There are also people who "fight for democracy" with a personal aim. Their scope of democracy is very narrow. In their eyes, anyone who touches their personal interests goes against democracy. They will then "fight" at all costs and selflessly. They advocate democracy, but they disallow the least dissenting opinions. These people are democratic individualists who could also be found in Chinese history. On the eve of the victory of the Chinese people, the imperialists pinned their hopes on some democratic individualists. Eventually they went totally bankrupt. Today, however, some people pin their hopes of a so-called "fight for democracy" on imperialism. They have completely lost their national pride. We must help these people through education and tell them what is right and what is wrong, so they will understand that they definitely will go astray if they fight for "democratic rights" by deviating from the principles of the constitution, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, the basic interests of the overwhelming majority of people and the four modernizations.

Socialist democracy as a means is demonstrated by concrete methods. The correct method of applying democracy involves a very important principle, as Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "Democracy is a method, and it all depends on whom it is applied and for what purpose." ("Speech at the Second Plenum of the Eighth CCP Central Committee") Some comrades do not understand this principle. Instead, they apply the democratic method indiscriminately and demand great democracy at every turn. In fact, many do not understand what "great democracy" means. Great democracy is a form of democracy but has a certain meaning. Generally, it refers to a large-scale mass democratic movement. However, application of great democracy has its specific target, as Comrade Mao Zedong said: "The great democracy set in motion by the proletariat is directed against class enemies." "Great democracy can be directed against bureaucrats, too." (Ibid.) Moreover, this kind of great democracy is not ultra-democracy but "is great democracy under the leadership of the proletariat." (Ibid.) This is the same as the democracy guided by centralism which we are talking about.

Therefore, great democracy cannot be applied at random. Class enemies use great democracy to confuse the class lineup and transpose enemies and friends. For example, during the Great Cultural Revolution, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" directed great democracy against the people. As a

result, "great democracy" became great dictatorship, and the whole country was in confusion. What a bitter lesson this was! Actually, great democracy and small democracy are just figurative parts of speech. Great democracy does not mean extensive democracy because of the word "great"; small democracy does not mean narrow democracy because of the word "small." Small democracy is just a method of criticism and self-criticism, a good method of resolving contradictions among the people. Turbulent class struggles of a mass character have now basically come to an end, and the people of the whole country are working with concerted efforts to accomplish the four modernizations. However, in resolving contradictions among the people, some people advocate "great democracy" at every turn and use the avoidance of aggravating matters as an excuse. The result is contrary to expectation, and the highly favorable situation of stability and unity is upset. This impedes the solution of problems.

IV

Promoting democracy among the people and within the party is our party's consistent policy and Comrade Mao Zedong's consistent thinking. Our party has the honorable tradition of promoting democracy. Because we had paid attention to carrying forward the party's tradition of democracy and had handled the relationship between democracy and dictatorship rather correctly, the enthusiasm of the broad masses of party members and people after national liberation surged to an all-time high, and socialist revolution and construction developed vigorously. However, the environment then changed. Our party came into power, and some party members and cadres styled themselves as heroes. As a result, the undesirable style of deviating from the masses thrived among them. The party's democratic centralism was violated to a certain degree. This violation became more serious after 1958, and especially after 1959, bringing the revolutionary cause damages and losses which should have been avoided. This situation was rectified at an enlarged central work conference in 1962. In his speech at this conference, Comrade Mao Zedong stressed the vital significance of the exercise of democratic centralism within the party. However, the appeal put forward by this conference was not effective for long. After the conference, Lin Biao and other people like him wantonly propagated the personality cult. As a result, the collective leadership of the party Central Committee was weaker than before. During the Great Cultural Revolution, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" came forward in ultraleftist features and completely ruined socialist democracy. The enthusiasm of the broad masses of people was seriously dampened, and the national economy came to the brink of collapse. This taught us a lesson by negative example: Without democracy there can be no socialism.

However, we should also see that our socialist system is very young, we lack experience, and socialist democracy can only be promoted on the basis of constant practice. As masters of our country we must start from

the point of cherishing the socialist system and help our party and state overcome these shortcomings and mistakes. We should know this: Only socialism can save China. Separated from the socialist system, we can only come to capitalist restoration and cannot say a word about people's democratic rights.

Promoting socialist democracy is, in the final analysis, a question of world outlook. Therefore, it is necessary to give the cadres and the masses extensive education in democracy and in a proletarian world outlook. In particular, the party's leading cadres should completely rid themselves of the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," smash the fetters of hard and fast rules in their minds, further liberate their minds, keep pace with the current situation, resolutely fight against old ideas, old traditions and bureaucratic and feudal, patriarchal autocratic styles, and oppose privileges. Efforts should also be made to teach the masses to resist the erosion by bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideas, to overcome one-sidedness, narrowmindedness, aversion to discipline and individualistic ideas of the petty bourgeoisie, and to correctly exercise their democratic rights.

We can surely overcome all hardships in our advance and usher in a spring of the four socialist modernizations in our motherland in the near future, provided we march forward in the direction charted by the third plenum of the 11th party Central Committee and persistently carry forward socialist democracy.

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ESTABLISH THE COMMUNIST WORLD OUTLOOK; TAKE THE ONLY ROAD OF HISTORY

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[Article by Feng Ding [7458 1353]]

[Text] When Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were making use of the Cultural Revolution in a sinister attempt to usurp party and state power, commit every evil and cover the sky with their vicious tentacles, the people living through those stern and long days and nights were thinking about a countless number of questions. These questions could be boiled down to one question, which was: "Where, indeed, is China heading?" People were worried about our great, glorious and correct party, worried about the fate and future of our socialist country, worried about our proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation who were suffering from persecution, worried about the middle-aged people whom our party personally fostered after the nation's liberation and who were wasting away their years, and worried about our growing younger generation who were not receiving the proper political and cultural education. It was only after the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng had wisely and courageously shattered the "gang of four" with one blow that our country and our party were rescued. This was a profound turning point in history.

However, because Lin Biao and the "gang of four" had unscrupulously trampled on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, had brazenly twisted the party's leadership, the socialist system and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and had poisoned the party's style, the nation's style and the people's style, they left a deep scar in the hearts and minds of the people and created great confusion in people's thinking. Some people felt undecided about, wavered in and doubted the effort to advance. Of course, there were many comrades who struggled in a down-to-earth, ideologically resolute, heroic and unswerving manner and with a high sense of proletarian consciousness. Some of them worked hard on the production front and scored outstanding achievements; others steadily scaled new heights on the scientific and technological front; still others faithfully carried out the party's educational cause on the education front, regarding several decades as one day; and still others devoted themselves

to the motherland in heroic and unswerving struggles against the enemies. In this Sino-Vietnamese border defense battle, many such outstanding proletarian heroic figures appeared.

An extremely important task on our ideological front at present is that, in the new historical period, we must sum up both the positive and negative historical experiences, vigorously strengthen ideological and political work, eradicate the pernicious influence which Lin Biao and the "gang of four" planted in the people's spiritual world, further establish the communist world outlook, rectify our social customs, establish a generation of new styles, transform the spiritual force into a material force, promote the four modernizations under our country's socialist system and build our country into a modernized and powerful socialist country.

The Communist World Outlook Is the Nerve Center in Launching the Revolutionary Cause

World outlook is the standpoint, viewpoint and method by which people comprehend objective events. On the basis of this kind of comprehension, different life attitudes and principles emerge in real life. In the various types of societies from the past to the present, every person has his own world outlook, and every person's action is governed by his world outlook. However, while some people consciously choose to follow a kind of world outlook, others act unconsciously in accordance with a certain kind of world outlook. Regardless of what kind of world outlook it is, it is a product of an age and class, and its birth and formation is inseparable from the production means, social system and historical conditions of the time. For instance, in a primitive communist society, because of its low productive force, the people did not have surplus living means. Thus, they sought among themselves an equal distribution of food and attained the lowest terms of survival. It was not yet likely that they would have the notion of private ownership. Before the advent of the slaveowning society, people had made new discoveries concerning the use of nature. When they moved from the Stone Age into the Bronze Age, they raised their production measures and began to have surplus living means. This gave birth to the system of private ownership. The slaveowners owned the slaves and treated the slaves as talking animals. From then on, mankind entered a class society. Until the feudal society, the state was politically under the centralized system of monarchical rule. The world outlook of those in the ruling position was mainly the thinking of "loyalty to the monarch." Also, it was a patriarchal society with the male at the center. Thus, the motto "The monarch rules, the minister serves, the father fathers and the son acts his role" became one which people in feudal society observed. The world outlook which the people formulated was made up of feudal ethics such as loyalty, filial piety, moderation, honesty, and so on and so forth. The goal people pursued was to pass the imperial examination in order to obtain an official position, glorify their ancestors and enjoy wealth and prosperity.

With the advent of the capitalist society, as a result of the Industrial Revolution brought about by the steam engine, the backward and corrupt feudal class system was shattered, and men entered into a brandnew and naked class society engendered by capital. Due to the accumulation of capital and the craving for free competition, the core of the bourgeois world outlook became individual effort and egoism. It tore asunder the tender veil of interrelationship between people and changed this relationship into a purely monetary relationship. It was also precisely in the period of the rise of this capitalism that the proletariat, which accompanied large-scale industry, ascended the historical stage. Its appearance became the important condition for the birth of Marxism. The historical position of the proletariat made it possible to correctly reflect an objective truth. In the light of the social reality of capitalism, Marxism revealed the law of development of the human society, stating that capitalism inevitably would meet its doom and communism inevitably would triumph.

The birth of the Marxist scientific system was a leap in the history of the development of mankind's thinking. Applying the principles of dialectic materialism and historical materialism, it analyzed mankind's past, present and future. It came to the conclusion that human society developed from a low level to a high level, that capitalist society was mankind's last class society with private ownership and that mankind inevitably would advance toward the communist society. Communism at its low stage was socialism. For half a century the practice of the Chinese revolution repeatedly proved this point: that only by taking the socialist road can we save China.

In the course of what we experienced in social history, there was never one like the socialist society, in which we needed a correct ideology and a systematic communist world outlook to guide our work, study and living. This was because, whether they were of the capitalist society or the feudal society, and no matter how different their methods of production were, the social systems prior to socialism shared a common element, which was the private ownership of the means of production. So, when the people's world outlook changed in accordance with the social system, a basic break was not required, and spontaneous change and development could be brought about on the basis of the system of private ownership. However, the socialist system was established on the economic basis of the system of public ownership. It asked that the people effect a basic change in their old ideology in accordance with the change in the old economic basis. This could not come about spontaneously, but through instillation and education and through subjective and objective efforts so as to continuously establish and foster this advanced ideology. In socialist society every undertaking, every working post and every family and individual needs to use the communist world outlook to govern action. It is as important as the nerve center in the cerebrum of the human body, the headquarters that commands the individual's entire body. If a person's nerve center is damaged, then, although certain parts of the

body can still function, the person will after all be greatly handicapped and will not be able to function and act normally. Under the socialist system, if there is not a correct world outlook, then no matter how high the rewards are, how good the welfare measures are and how high livelihood is raised, we cannot properly solve the labor enthusiasm and political enthusiasm of the people or the problem of a noble quality of communism. Thus, in socialist society we need to carry out political education in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and ask that the people generally raise their consciousness of establishing the communist world outlook. This is a long-term and basic task.

The Reciprocal Roles of Spiritual Force and Material Force

The philosophical principle of Marxism tells us that "material is first and spirit second," and "existence is first and consciousness second." We strictly follow this principle in recognizing and treating objective events. Marx said that "the social being of men determines their consciousness." This was the truth proven in practice. It was precisely this principle that led us to understand that the proletariat would be the gravedigger of the capitalist society. The historical position of the proletariat determines the fact that the proletarian ideological consciousness is selfless, is a highly organized and disciplined collectivism and is revolutionary in character. The proletariat embraces a broad field of vision and heart and wants to liberate the whole of mankind while liberating the proletariat itself. The proletarian ideological consciousness can only come into being in the capitalist age, when large industrial production is becoming socialized daily; it cannot possibly come into being under the production method of small producers. This was the scientific conclusion which Marx and Engels arrived at in the 19th century when capitalism was rising. Until today this universal truth is still applicable.

Marxism also holds that spirit is an active reaction against matter, as consciousness is against existence. In the light of the experiences of the Chinese revolution, although the Chinese proletarian rank was not large, yet, because the Chinese Communist Party, especially our party's outstanding leader Comrade Mao Zedong, could combine Marxism-Leninism with the reality of the Chinese revolution, in the struggle against class enemies who were several times stronger the theoretical force of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought was brought into play to the fullest extent, a whole set of theses on party building was set up, agile strategies and tactics were brought into play, and glorious fruits were won from the new democratic revolution to the socialist revolution. Comrade Mao Zedong summed up the three big talismans of the Chinese revolution, which were armed struggle, party building and united front. Comrades who had undergone the revolutionary civil war, the War of Resistance Against Japan and the period of the underground struggle in the White areas all cherished profound memories of Comrades Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Zhu De and other revolutionaries of the older generation and

understood the importance of the political work which was established under their personal leadership, as well as the importance of the party's organizational construction and ideological construction. Comrade Mao Zedong proposed the building of party branches at and above the level of company, and he personally formulated the "three main rules of discipline and eight points for attention," which were the best political and ideological work because they were both concrete and all-encompassing. "How To Be a Communist Party Member," which Comrade Chen Yun wrote, was a good text for nurturing the growth to maturity of several generations of party members. If we did not have the guarantee of the party's leadership and did not carry out penetrating, meticulous and thorough political and ideological work, then in those difficult years when even the lowest terms of survival in the lives of the revolutionary rank and the masses of people were threatened, how could we win victory in the revolution? How, under those arduous situations, could the revolutionary rank remain thriving and vigorous and embrace such true class sentiment and such a heroic spirit of self-sacrifice? This was spiritual force and the noble force that was formed by the proletarian world outlook.

In 1949 our party gained political power throughout the country. On the eve of the great victory, Comrade Mao Zedong predicted the shifting of the focus of the party's work to the cities, with the development of the revolutionary situation and the necessity to lead industrial production and economic construction. He published his talk at the second plenary session of the seventh party congress, a talk of historical significance. This talk played a very important role in strengthening the party's ideological construction and organizational construction and in our party's leading the recovery and development of the national economy. But in the socialist revolution and construction after that, because we were still inexperienced, because we did not fully understand the reciprocal roles played by matter and spirit, and because we did not handle actual work well enough, we suffered some twists and turns in developing and raising the social productive forces. Later, in the 10 years of the Cultural Revolution, the actions of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in resisting progress resulted in extremely serious sabotage of production and the people's spiritual life.

In those years the positive and negative historical experiences enabled us to realize more profoundly that, in building socialism, we must strive to develop and raise the social productive forces and must use the powerful economic base to influence and change the socialist superstructure. At the same time, we were enabled to realize that the Marxist-Leninist thinking in people's heads not only could not come about spontaneously but, once education was relaxed, would be dragged over, as in a tug-of-war, by the nonproletarian thinking which was born every hour and moment in society. Thus, we must persevere in combining theory with practice and history with reality when conducting education work in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and when launching a powerful ideological

and political work. Stalin once pointed out: "Once they emerge from the basis of the ripe tasks put forth in the development of the social material living, which is the development of social existence, social thinking and theory and political institutions in turn affect social existence, affect the social material living and create necessary conditions for the thorough solution of the ripe tasks in the social material living and for the further development of the social material living." He also pointed out that the role of advanced ideology "is to enhance social development and enhance social progress. So, the more definitely they reflect the needs of the development of the social material living, the greater their meaning."

A Generation of New Styles and the Four Modernizations

The party Central Committee compared the task of our country in realizing the four modernizations to a new Long March. This is truly very appropriate and vivid. Historically, the Chinese Red Army launched a world-famous 25,000-li Long March. It was a great exploit of extreme ardor as well as farsight and insight launched for the sake of overthrowing the three big mountains in China. Today, in this new Long March to realize the four modernizations, we are faced with tasks which are more complicated, more arduous and more far-reaching than the overthrow of the three big mountains in those years. In this present Long March we are going to scale new heights in the socialist revolution and construction in a new historical period. It has made higher demands on organizational construction and ideological construction in order to suit this grand militant task.

The foremost thing in ideological construction is to ask that the people establish the communist world outlook. The socialist principle is "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work." All members of society are the masters of the social means of production, and they should take the stand of masters and render their abilities to society. Speaking from this angle, if one does not embrace a communist labor attitude and is not equipped with the consciousness of a communist world outlook, then one cannot possibly render one's abilities. Is there not a popular claim now that "one will render one's work according to one's wages"? Of course, we must not ignore the fact that there are still imperfections in our production management, wage policy, and so on and so forth, and that there are still many instances of insufficient understanding of the socialist economic law. As a result, in actual work we still cannot satisfy the needs of socialist construction and of the masses. This needs to be studied and improved in a down-to-earth manner. However, if we do not pay attention to fostering the thinking of serving the people among the young people, and if we do not "combat selfishness" but rather let it run rampant, then what will become of our country's socialism?

Our country's socialist society emerged from the womb of a semifeudal and semicolonial society. Our country has the broadest rank of small producers. Thus, feudal factional ideology and the parochialism, aversion to discipline, anarchism and egalitarianism, etc. of small producers find in China's earth a suitable soil and grow like weeds continuously. It was in the same soil and environment that Lin Biao and the "gang of four" cultivated their Chinese version of revisionism. Such a historical experience is worth our spending some time surmising up and is a rich teaching material by negative example. When we wake up from such a profound historical lesson, we do not reach a passive and despairing viewpoint or a skeptical and wavering viewpoint. More than that, we do not reach a slavish thinking of inferiority and despair and envy of foreigners. We want to stand up straight on the motherland's broad earth, which has been cruelly trampled on by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," bury the bodies of our comrades-in-arms properly, wipe away the bloodstains on our bodies, throw off the dust on our bodies, make big strides anew on the road, follow the socialist road which has been blazed by the revolutionaries of the older generation and launch a new Long March.

In accordance with the historical experiences of our country's revolution and the present ideological conditions inside and outside the party, if we want to realize the four modernizations in our country, we must emphasize, ideologically and politically, the four basic principles of persevering in the socialist road, persevering in the dictatorship of the proletariat, persevering in the party's leadership and persevering in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. This is the cornerstone of the communist world outlook. Whether we persevere in these four basic principles or oppose or divorce ourselves from these four basic principles is a struggle between the proletarian and the bourgeois world outlooks. These four basic principles are related to one another and are inseparable. They belong to the integrated system of the communist world outlook. If we doubt or depart from any one of these four basic principles, we will lose our bearing. In our real life we are not likely to approve of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and oppose the socialist road at the same time, or approve of the socialist road and oppose the party's leadership and the dictatorship of the proletariat and doubt Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought at the same time.

If we proceed from the reality of the economic, scientific and cultural backwardness of our country and of the deep-rooted forces of habit of small producers, if we proceed from the general task of our party in the new period, we need to emphasize making efforts in the following points when we establish the communist world outlook at present:

I. We must establish the viewpoints of dialectical materialism and historical materialism.

If we lack the basic knowledge and attainment in this aspect, then in real life we will tend to engender subjectivism, one-sidedness and

metaphysics. We will not be good at conducting dialectical analysis of events, and our understanding of objective events will easily be absolute. As a result, we will become either "left" or right and will bring about vacillation. For instance, in order to realize the four modernizations we embrace the practical spirit of absorbing the advanced experiences of mankind from the past to the present, we want to carry out economic, trade, scientific, cultural and many other kinds of exchanges with capitalist countries, and we want to borrow useful things from them. But then, the trend of thought that everything about capitalist countries is good, that even the bourgeois democracy, legal system, "human rights" down to every hair and style of pants are excellent--does not such a spiritual state go back to half a century ago, to the age of Ah Q which Lu Xun once portrayed? Lenin said: "Compared with socialism, capitalism is a disaster. But compared with the medieval system, with small production and the bureaucratism which is linked with the small producers' aversion to discipline, capitalism is a blessing." ("On the Grain Tax," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 525) We must learn this scientific analytical attitude in studying the capitalist economy and politics. Toward other questions we should also adopt this attitude of proceeding from reality and doing things in a down-to-earth manner in carrying out analysis and study, try to avoid subjectivity and one-sidedness and try to engage in fewer metaphysical things. We have suffered enough such bitterness. We must wage vehement efforts in this respect, sum up our experiences and lessons, and do a good job of the study, propaganda and application of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

II. We must establish the viewpoint of conscious labor.

"Labor creates the world" is a famous thesis of Marxism. It is the summation of the experiences of mankind's involvement in production practice for many, many generations. We can say that everybody knows this principle. But in a different society the understanding of and attitude toward labor are different. In a capitalist society the workers, peasants and intellectuals are forced to carry out labor. In order to make their own living they sell their labor under the form of employment. In the socialist society we practice the system of public ownership of the means of production. The people carry out labor in the attitude of masters. Labor is glorious and conscious. However, under this principle the people's labor attitudes are also different. This is because of the difference in ideological consciousness between individuals. Originally this could be solved through ideological education and a system of management. However, because of the long-term sabotage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," some people have already acquired the bad habits of indiscipline and idleness. Moreover, because of the confusion in the system of management and the lack of strict labor discipline and a system of reward and punishment, the latent labor capacity and creative spirit of the broad masses are far from being brought into full play. Today, as we strive for the realization of the four modernizations, this is a very important question. We should rebuild the new style of loving labor

ardently and carrying out labor consciously. Marxism holds that, when people regard labor as the first need in life, then the moment of communism has come. Lenin also highly evaluated the communist voluntary labor. All this shows that, in socialist society, how one treats labor is a way of measuring one's ideological level and ethical outlook. The task of political and ideological work is to reverse the habit of "self" left behind from the old society over a long period and change the fervor for individual labor to a fervor for collective labor. A specialist of a capitalist country worked for 2 years in a certain factory in our country during the period when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were running rampant. He expressed the following thought: At first I was unable to form a general impression of what was socialism and what was capitalism. Now I know. Capitalism means you will starve if you do not work, and socialism means you will not starve even if you do not work. Should we not be warned and inspired by this thought?

III. We will shatter the parochial vision of small production and establish in all corners of the world the consciousness of a large collectivism and large unity.

In the rectification campaign in 1942 our party emphatically opposed sectarianism and established a fine work style. However, in the period when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were running rampant the evil wind of their factional force indeed became popular in a public and legal form. Its frenzy and harm had rarely been seen in the history of our party. In the cadres rank Lin Biao and the "gang of four" advertised rebels and revolutionaries. What they actually practiced were exclusion of outsiders, occupation of mountain strongholds and raising of contingents. The cadres line of appointing people on their merits was replaced by the line of appointing people by favoritism. A corrupt wind of "brotherhood" was whipped up among the young people. It seemed that the philosophy of life of "depending on parents when at home and depending on friends when not at home" of the society of private ownership was again revived. Party organization, the revolutionary rank and revolutionary comrades were ignored. Those who shared so-called similar viewpoints were like a family. Those who embraced different opinions were hated as though they were worse than enemies. These attitudes of sectarianism and small group mentality were the corrosives of the revolutionary rank. They were incompatible with the communist world outlook. We must persevere in the style of large collectivism and large unity in all corners of the world. We must throw away personal feelings of gratitude and resentment and unite in advancing toward a common revolutionary goal. Only this is the quality which a proletariat and a communist should have.

IV. We must establish the selfless and dauntless spirit of daring to persevere in the truth and defend the truth.

After our socialist cause had undergone the catastrophe brought about by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the confusion created in people's

ideology was extremely grave. In those 10 years, not only were the correct transmission of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and education in the fine tradition of the revolution seriously sabotaged, but young people were inculcated with and taught all kinds of feudal, capitalist and revisionist poisons. Thus, such questions as what was good, what was bad, what was right, what was wrong, what was glory and what was shame, etc. were extremely confused and turned upside down. The people's thinking and feelings, spiritual realm, ideals and aspirations and interests and ambitions suffered an all-round poisoning. Consequently, in the ideology of some young people, various trends of thought, such as seeing through things, realism and skepticism, appeared in profusion. Some young people who embraced ideals and aspirations adopted through their peephole view a certain outlook once they encountered obstacles in real life. Others who originally were weak-willed were unable to stand the tests of some environments and became passive and vacillating. Still others who originally felt spiritually empty only wanted to expend little effort and enjoy more; once this illusion was destroyed they headed blindly toward capitalism. No matter what condition or viewpoint that was, it was brought about by a failure to understand and trust in the truth of Marxism-Leninism. Every generation of people has its own historical mission and social responsibilities. In the formation of society from the past to the present, many advanced figures devoted themselves to the pursuit of truth. For instance, there was Galileo, who advocated the heliocentric theory; although he suffered the persecution of the church, he never abandoned his belief in the truth. The task of our generation of people today is to continue to walk on the socialist road which revolutionaries of the older generation found through sacrifice and struggle for half a century, and to open up an even newer realm. To walk on this road we must first embrace a patriotic national self-respect and the ambition of rendering contributions to the motherland's great earth. To want to engage in socialism is truly a heavy burden and a long road. This requires an indomitable will and a spirit of sacrificing oneself without fear of difficulty and danger.

Certainly it will not be fair wind for one who perseveres in the truth. Often one is tested under two circumstances. One is: When one's understanding does not conform to the objective truth, can one resort to the spirit of self-criticism and revise one's mistakes? This is what Comrade Mao Zedong means by the necessity to continue to transform one's subjective world outlook while transforming the objective world. The other circumstance is: When others depart from the truth, does one dare stand up to defend the truth? Can one withstand the evil wind which affects the majority? The strength of public opinion is often a form of invisible law. If we can have more people who embrace the noble character of persevering in justice and the truth, then we can facilitate the growth of a new social style.

All in all, man needs a kind of spirit. This kind of spirit is ideal and aspiration, interest and ambition, revolutionary love and hatred and the fervor of serving the people without bad taste. The communist world outlook is the course of growth from the elementary to the higher stage. After suffering the serious sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," we should start from the basics if we want to recover and establish our normal revolutionary consciousness and ethical quality. At least we must first establish the normal notion of only doing good things and not doing bad things, and try as soon as possible to heal the wounds caused by the savage persecutions of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" against the hearts of the people. Some young people's hearts are still stamped with the brand of power politics. They believe that there is no truth in the world and that whoever has the power has the truth. Thus they still tend toward real power and cling madly to armed force. That evil thought of "beating, smashing and looting," which is a tendency to solve problems with the fist, still occupies a place in the heads of some people and will not fade away. We must vehemently shake ourselves loose from Lin Biao and the "gang of four," who wanted to drag us back to the cave age and the state of the ape-man with a tail behind us. We must cut off the tail and enter a civilized age that is imbued with the communist idea. We must wash off the print of small producers on our bodies and must not be the socialists whom Marx and Engels talked about in the "Manifesto of the Communist Party," who still carry certain traces on their behinds.

The four modernizations require the people to charge ahead with the communist world outlook, and the people's communist world outlook in turn needs to be nurtured to maturity by the four modernizations. What we need is modernization after the Chinese manner, which means that, under the historical and realistic conditions in China, we will make use of the old tradition of the Chinese revolution, rely on the leadership of a powerful party and the guarantee of ideological and political work, and add to those the new science and technology and the diligent and hardworking hands of the Chinese people in order to create a powerful socialist country with the four modernizations.

The four modernizations are related to the future and fate of our country. The establishment of the communist world outlook is also related to the future and fate of our country. These two factors are reciprocal. The progress of the four modernizations will open up a wide road for the communist world outlook, and the communist world outlook is the propeller for pushing forward the four modernizations. Our comrades on the various fronts must dedicate heart and soul and unite in struggle to accomplish this glorious and arduous task. We can foresee that, in the course of the four modernizations, a mammoth socialist army that has a high sense of political consciousness and a high level of science and culture will definitely appear and will render appropriate contributions to the Chinese revolution and the world revolution.

From the Realm of Necessity to the Realm of Freedom

Freedom is an understanding of necessity.

In the international communist movement, after the proletariat has seized political power, how should the socialist revolution and construction be launched? Although positive and negative historical experiences have been provided for us from the Paris Commune in 1871 to the present, yet in our great revolution to destroy the last of mankind's system of private ownership there are still many problems we have to explore and experiment with. In the course of this exploration and experimentation we will encounter difficulties and setbacks. But we will not waver in our faith and will not back out. This is because, for 100 years since its founding, the Marxist ideological system has reflected a truth that is full of vitality. The present question is how we, in the course of revolutionary practice, will apply and enrich the Marxist theory by combining it with a new reality and new problems. In this respect, there are truly many new situations and problems which we have to study and solve.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four," under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng, we have step by step emancipated thinking, adhered to the principle that practice is the sole criterion for testing truth and struggled for the general task of the new period. Precisely because we are guided by the party's correct line, an unprecedented scene of liveliness has appeared. Also, we are at work in strengthening and improving our country's legal system, and the party committees at various levels have attached importance to the work of inspecting our party's discipline. We can say that all this is a strengthening and improvement of the socialist cause. Having undergone the attempt of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" to resist progress, the people, in particular the younger generation, have been educated. Politically they have matured more quickly; they are good at thinking about a problem, and they dare to raise questions. All these are delightful phenomena. Of course, precisely because the young people and their world outlook have not taken definite shape yet, it is inevitable that they will be influenced by the various trends of thought both at home and abroad. It is more inevitable that the germs of feudalism, capitalism and revisionism spread by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" will soil the thinking of the young people to varying degrees. To treat such spiritual wounds, we have to strive to study and propagate Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and, toward the various questions that appear in society at present, conduct more convincing theoretical analyses, positive education and guidance. Lenin said that God allows young people to say something wrong. This is because the young people are still young and are not mature enough mentally. In fact, young people are not living in a vacuum and are therefore influenced by the social environment and the family environment. Thus, the necessity to establish a generation of new style and the necessity to raise the consciousness of establishing

the communist world outlook are not only the issues of the younger generation but also the common important problems for the old, the middle-aged and the young. Comrade Mao Zedong taught us that, while transforming the objective world, people should also transform their subjective world. If in the subjective world we have too many things that do not conform to the law of development of the objective world, then we will fall into blindness. For instance, concerning the question of freedom, from the angle of philosophy it is men's understanding of objective necessity. However, from the angle of direct sense perception in life, many young people believe that freedom means doing whatever one feels like doing. In fact, if we violate the objective laws, we not only will not have freedom but will suffer retaliation and punishment by objective laws.

In his book "Dialectics of Nature," Engels admonished people not to revel in the triumph of mankind over nature. He said: "With every such triumph, nature has taken revenge on us. In every triumph, the first step is truly the result of what we expect. But the second and third steps are entirely different. The influence that is beyond expectation often cancels out the first result." He also mentioned that in order to have land for cultivation the people of Mesopotamia cut down all the forests. But they never dreamed that these places would thus become the desert land they are today. This is because when they caused these places to lose their forests they also caused these places to lose the centers for accumulating and storing moisture. The Italians of the Alps living on the southern slopes felled all the trees that were carefully protected on the northern slopes of the mountains. They did not expect that, because of this, they would destroy the basis of highland animal husbandry in their region. Moreover, they did not expect that what they did caused the mountain streams to dry up for most of the year and to flood ferociously in the rainy season. Finally, Engels pointed out: "We must bear in mind at all times: When we rule over nature, we are definitely not like the conquerors who rule over their people and definitely not like the people who stand apart from nature; on the contrary, we, together with our flesh, blood and brains, belong to nature and exist in nature; our entire rule over nature shows only that we are stronger than other animals and that we can understand and correctly apply the laws of nature." The principle which Engels pointed out is likewise suitable for us to apply to the laws of society. For instance, in our socialist society, individual interest, collective interest and state interest are all one. The raising of the social productive forces is necessarily beneficial to individual distribution. On the contrary, if we treat labor with the attitude of "rendering work according to the wages," then we will definitely affect the state's productive forces. If men cannot consciously understand this point, then they can only remain in a state of blindly weakening the socialist system of public ownership, which means undermining their own interests. Or, for instance, our demand for democracy in the socialist society is totally different from the demand for democracy in the old society. The

political power of the old society represents the suppressing and exploiting class. At that time the struggle for democratic rights was a form of class struggle. However, the socialist political power is the political power of the people themselves, and we demand democracy on the premise of serving the interest of socialism and of safeguarding the dictatorship of the proletariat. If we cannot see this point, then we will mess things up and weaken and interfere with our socialist cause.

All in all, only through understanding more profoundly the necessity of the objective events can we obtain more freedom and acquire initiative spiritually. The establishment of the communist world outlook is the strengthening of the sharp ideological weapon for understanding the objective laws. Only by raising higher our consciousness of establishing the communist world outlook can we even further accelerate the pace of our realization of the four modernizations. Let our old, middle-aged and young people swiftly liberate themselves from the spiritual shackles manufactured by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," make a thorough break with the old traditional viewpoints, be determined, fear no sacrifice, surmount all difficulties and strive for new victories for the motherland's four modernizations!

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CHINA'S SCIENCE IN THE PAST SIX DECADES

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[Article by Zhou Peiyuan]

[Text] The history of the birth of our country's modern science is linked with the history of the "May Fourth" new cultural movement. In commemorating the 60th anniversary of the "May Fourth" Movement, it is of great significance to review the path our country's science has traversed and sum up certain beneficial experiences and lessons therefrom, in order to accelerate the development of our country's scientific cause and serve modernized construction in a better manner.

I. Science--a Banner of the "May Fourth" Movement

Marxism holds that science is a revolutionary force that pushes history forward. In the modern age, whether a country or a nation is advanced, rich and powerful or not is determined to a great extent by the condition of its scientific development. In the modern world, the high-level development of the scientific cause has become an important premise on which a country or a nation depends for its survival. If one is backward, one will be trounced and beaten. Our country's people have had a painful and harsh lesson in this. When many Western countries were successively entering the capitalist society and were developing at miraculous speed their science and technology and the entire social productive force, not much change was taking place in China, a country which enjoyed a long period of history and which had rendered great contributions to mankind's civilization in the history of the development of science, technology and culture. Superstition, ignorance and backwardness enveloped all of China. A great many people did not even know what science was. The gunsmoke of the Opium War strongly shook up the Chinese people. The stern reality of losing power and suffering humiliation profoundly educated the Chinese people. In spite of the fact that the feudal rulers of the Qing dynasty of the time were still muddle-headed and in a state of inertia, a few people in Chinese intellectual circles began to explore the reason for such a wide gap between the strength of China and the strength of Britain, and this gradually gave

birth to the thinking of "learning from the West." In his preface to "A Maritime Nation Strives To Accomplish Its Ideals," a book which he edited, Wei Yuan put forth the proposal "to learn the skills of the barbarians in order to subdue them." His proposal precisely reflected the thought of the progressive intellectuals of the time. However, at that time and during the ensuing period the majority of scholar-bureaucrats and other persons in intellectual circles saw only the "strong ships and powerful cannons" of the Western powers and did not understand much about science itself, which was hidden behind the "strong ships and powerful cannons." The "movement to learn from the foreigners" which people like Zeng Guofan and Li Hongzhang initiated was mainly for the purpose of "strengthening armaments and sharpening the troops." At that time they set up the Jiangnan Manufacturing Bureau and the Mawei Shipping Administrative Bureau. They bought steamships, built railroads and set up telegraph bureaus. But those tasks were confined to borrowing the techniques from Western countries. No attention was paid to scientific work.

However, to follow step by step the advanced technology of other people can hardly enable one to shake off one's backward state. The defeat in the Sino-French War, and particularly the defeat in the Sino-Japanese War, aroused the progressive Chinese people of the time to put forward the demand for reformation. People gradually realized that it would not do to simply copy the Western advanced technology, and that it was necessary to simultaneously reform the social system, initiate scientific causes and launch scientific research work. Amid such cries demanding reformation in an effort to become strong, Yan Fu was the one who vehemently emphasized the importance of science. In "Letter to the Owner of the Wai Jiao Bao on Education," he said: "What is the biggest disaster of our country? Is it ignorance? Is it poverty? Is it weakness? Plainly speaking, any act that can cure this ignorance, treat this poverty and overcome this weakness can be done. Of the three, the most urgent task is to cure ignorance." That is to say, the major problems for China were "ignorance," "poverty" and "weakness"; that the tasks of "curing ignorance," "treating poverty" and "overcoming weakness" should be launched, and that among them the task of "curing ignorance" was the foremost. He even further affirmed that it was necessary to learn from the West in order to rescue China from its crisis. He said: "What China did not have itself was Western learning; thus, to acquire Western learning is an urgent task at present." Yan Fu resolutely opposed the viewpoint of degrading science and looking upon science as the last task. He refuted the erroneous opinion of the so-called "politics is first and art is last." He said: "To say that politics is first and art is last is actually a reversal of order. What is the so-called art but science? Logic, figures, quality and force all belong to science. Their universal rules go out in all directions. And those people who are good at Western politics all proceed from these rules." Yan Fu's translations, which included Adam Smith's "The Wealth of Nations," Mill's "System of Logic," and Huxley's "Evolution and Ethics," powerfully

influenced Chinese intellectual circles at the time. In particular, the slogan in "Evolution and Ethics" concerning "the heavens' selection in the contention among the species and the survival of the fittest" played a very big role in arousing the Chinese people to swiftly grasp advanced science and technology, to struggle courageously and to prevent the nation from sinking into oblivion.

Nevertheless, it was only after the 1911 Revolution that the Chinese people truly began to comprehend the importance of science. During this period a large group of students who had studied in the West were gradually returning to their homeland. A great many of them were vigorous and promising people who were enthusiastic about developing the motherland's scientific cause. They carried out propaganda in a big way on the great force of science, spread the newest scientific knowledge of the West of that time, and strove to explain to the Chinese people that the majority of the many major technological achievements were the results of discoveries and inventions in the applied sciences. At that time they even organized various scientific bodies, founded many journals and translated and introduced Western advanced science and technology. In this way China entered its initial stage of modern science. Following the many short-lived societies founded during the late Qing dynasty, many societies were formed successively during this period, such as the China Astronomical Society, the China Medical Society, the China Pharmaceutical Society and the China Agronomical Society. In particular, the China Scientific Society, founded in 1914, played an important role in the establishment and development of China's scientific cause at the time. It started the monthly SCIENCE in January 1915 and disseminated a great deal of scientific knowledge to the Chinese people. Also, the China Scientific Society itself launched many scientific activities which greatly promoted the development of China's scientific cause.

At this time the European war was in progress, and the imperialist powers were too busy to pay attention to the East. The Chinese national capitalist industry and commerce developed relatively swiftly. At the same time, a scene of liveliness also appeared in China's intellectual circles. All kinds of viewpoints and all forms of thoughts were published in newspapers and journals. The various trends of thought which were popular in the West were also introduced in large numbers. The historical mission of anti-imperialism and antifeudalism drove every progressive Chinese to view how the "democracy and science" of the Western bourgeoisie brought social progress and national wealth and strength and how, without democracy and science, China suffered painful lessons. They therefore highlighted democracy and science among the various imported trends of thought and put them in prominent positions. Thus, in a very short period of time the atmosphere of talking about democracy and advocating science swept through the whole nation and gathered into an irresistible historical torrent. Representing the orientation of this new cultural movement and standing from first to last in the front rank was the NEW YOUTH. The first article of its first issue clearly pointed out

that it was necessary to change China's outlook of poverty and backwardness and shake off its position of being bullied and enslaved, and that it was necessary to attach equal importance to science and human rights. It clearly held up the great banner of science and democracy and led the new cultural movement to advance.

It must be pointed out that the "science" which the new cultural movement most vigorously advocated was closely linked with the science advocated by intellectual circles since the Opium War, and particularly since the 1911 Revolution. It was the inevitable development of a long-term propaganda of Western scientific thinking. Of course, the "science" spoken of during this period had the broad connotation of opposing superstition, opposing deity, opposing implicit obedience and opposing arbitrariness. Like the great banner "democracy," it proceeded from the antifeudal ideological emancipation movement. Precisely because of this, "science" became a banner of the "May Fourth" new cultural movement. Although the initiators of the "May Fourth" new cultural movement at the time were unable to thoroughly recognize the organic relationship between "science" and "democracy," they were able to see clearly that "only these two misters (Mr Sai, meaning science, and Mr De, meaning democracy) could cure all the darkness in China's politics, morality, learning and ideology." (NEW YOUTH, Vol 6, Issue 1) Thus, they firmly grasped "science" and "democracy," these two trends of thought which had immense vitality, and combined them to be used as a sharp weapon in opposing imperialism and feudalism.

II. The Science of Old China Which Developed Arduously and Tortuously

After the "May Fourth" movement, China's science entered a period of slow development. Prior to this, China's modern science could be said to be at the initial stage. In the entire realm of science there were only a few scientific bodies (societies); aside from the Geological Survey Institute founded in the early years of the republic, there were no specialized natural science research organs. The work done at that time was confined to introducing the scientific and technological achievements of the West or the lives and deeds of world-famous scientists and discoverers. After the "May Fourth" movement, not only were there more scientific bodies, but certain scientific research organs were founded gradually. Generally speaking, the scientific research organs of old China were in four categories: The first category included government-run institutes, for instance, the Central Research Institute and the Beiping Research Institute. These were the major research institutes of old China. The second category included scientific research organs set up by various universities and also formed an important scientific research force. The third category included research institutes set up by public and private enterprises; and the fourth category included research institutes set up by privately sponsored scientific bodies, for instance the Biology Research Institute set up by the China Scientific Society. After their establishment, these research organs generally

scored definite achievements and made positive contributions to the development of China's modern science and technology. Thus, after the establishment of research organs, China's science gradually cast off the state of purely introducing Western scientific achievements and began to bring forth its own achievements in scientific research, some of which even reached the world's level.

However, in the 30 years of old China, China's science developed at a considerably low speed. Also, a characteristic of its development was that the branches that did not require very complicated laboratory equipment were developed in a relatively better manner, while those branches that required complicated laboratory equipment were developed poorly. This was because China's modern science was developed on an extremely weak economic basis. Because old China's industry was weak and its technology backward, it could not manufacture urgently needed precision and complex apparatus. Also, the old warlord and Guomindang reactionary government only cared about expropriating the people's money and properties; it did not care about the scientific cause and was unwilling to import advanced laboratory equipment. Thus, in old China, such subjects as physics and chemistry in modern science were established relatively late. Also, even after they were established, their laboratory equipment was still very simplified and was totally unable to meet the needs of scientific research work. Thus, the research results in physics and chemistry in the old China were extremely inconspicuous. At that time, some theses of relatively high academic standard were written in these two subjects. But most of them were written by students who had studied abroad. Besides, their experiments and research were conducted abroad. We know that the development of the scientific cause is closely related to the political system and economic basis of a country. To enable the scientific cause to develop in a healthy manner, we must have a democratic political system and a tremendous economic strength, which were precisely what the semicolonial and semifeudal old China lacked.

The subjects that were developed in a relatively better manner in old China were geology, biology, mathematics and archeology. The characteristic of these subjects was that they did not require complicated and precision laboratory equipment. Also, with the exception of mathematics they were all intensely regional in character. Thus, they were established relatively early and, through the diligence and hard work of the Chinese scientists, were able to score more conspicuous results. For instance, China's geology had its own characteristics. Its achievements enjoyed a certain prestige in the history of geology in the world. Also, the discovery of the Beijing Man was an important contribution to the development of anthropology.

After the outbreak of the War of Resistance Against Japan, the research organs and institutions of higher learning in Beijing and along the coastal regions moved inland one after another. Losses were incurred in

books and equipment, and there was insufficient space for laboratories. At the same time, the exchange of domestic and foreign learning was obstructed as a result of inconvenient communications. Under this circumstance, aside from the few experiments and research that were necessary to the war, the entire scientific experiment and scientific research work almost came to a halt. Nevertheless, during this period at least one important work was persevered in, and that was the fostering of scientific personnel. Many of the scientific personnel fostered during this period became the core of our country's various scientific subjects after the liberation.

All in all, in the 30 years of the old China, China's scientific cause was still able to develop to a certain extent. It had traversed an extremely arduous and tortuous path. The scientific cause of the new China was developed precisely on the basis of the scientific cause of the old China. It should be pointed out that it is necessary to distinguish between the work of the scientists of the old China and the old government of the old China. The reactionary policies of the old government of the old China seriously obstructed the development of the scientific cause. But the scientists of the old China, through their own diligence and hard work, rendered boundless contributions to the development of China's scientific cause. Under extremely difficult conditions they tirelessly performed many tasks, conducted certain epoch-making research projects in many areas and obtained outstanding results, some of which continued to play their roles after the liberation. For instance, the prospecting information furnished by geological scientific research continued to be used after the liberation. Furthermore, the Chinese scientists had made tremendous efforts to carefully foster groups of scientific and technological personnel. We should correctly evaluate the work of the scientists of the old China. Their diligence and hard work and the contributions they made to China's scientific development deserve our respect.

In examining the development of the scientific cause in the 30 years of the old China, we must at the same time take into consideration the situation of the development of the scientific cause in the liberated areas. Confined by objective conditions, the development of the scientific cause in the liberated areas was extremely limited. However, armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, the Chinese communists always attached great importance to the development of the scientific cause. As early as the stage of the Central Soviet District, elementary scientific knowledge was compiled in textbooks for workers and peasants. Up until the Yanan period, in spite of the fact that conditions were extremely difficult in all aspects, our party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong still paid great attention to the development of the natural sciences. Comrade Mao Zedong clearly pointed out that science was a weapon for the people in striving for freedom. The natural science workers of the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region even set up a natural science research society to propagate the important role of science and

encourage scientific invention and creation and the application of advanced science and technology. At the same time, they fostered a group of scientific management cadres and scientific and technological personnel for the scientific cause of the new China. All this constituted the dawn of the scientific cause of the socialist new China.

III. The Development of the Scientific Cause in the New China

Comrade Mao Zedong said that the Chinese nation has "the determination to restore old materials on the basis of self-reliance and the ability to stand independently among the world's nations." ("On the Tactic of Opposing Japanese Imperialism") In terms of the development of the scientific cause, only after the victory of the democratic revolution and after the people had won political democracy could the Chinese nation realize this determination and fully manifest this ability. The socialist new China opened a wide vista for the development of the scientific cause. Our country's scientific cause entered a new historical period.

Now another 30 years have passed. As regards the development of our country's science in the past 30 years, although there were all kinds of obstacles, particularly the big sabotage and big devastation by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" for an extended period of 10 years, on the whole China's science has, after all, striven for 30 years on the originally extremely backward basis of the old China, set up and developed a series of newly rising fields of science and technology and filled the many blanks in science, such as the science and technology of atomic energy, the science and technology of semiconductors, computer science and technology, space science and technology and ultraray science and technology. The successful experiments with the atomic bomb, the hydrogen bomb and the guided missile and the launching and precision retrieval of the man-made earth satellite were powerful proofs of our achievements. In the theory and research of basic science we also scored some outstanding results. In particular, our success with synthetic insulin was acknowledged by the world. In the applied sciences we made additional achievements in scientific research. For instance, our country was the first to successfully cultivate hybrid paddy rice and promote it over a large acreage. We will not list the others here.

Recalling the situation of our country's scientific cause since the liberation, we profoundly feel the extreme importance of the party's great attention to and powerful leadership over the scientific cause. Not long after the founding of the People's Republic of China, the party and government were already regarding scientific work as an important aspect in the economic construction of the new China. They first took over the scientific organs and scientific and technological personnel of the old China and, on the basis of the Central Research Institute and the Beiping Research Institute of the old China, set up a nationwide scientific research center--the Chinese Academy of Sciences. They also set up many research organs. All kinds of scientific research organs

were set up in the various government departments and in the localities, thereby greatly consolidating and strengthening the scientific research work of the institutions of higher learning. At the same time, they also attached appropriate importance to the major role which science played in national defense construction and set up corresponding organs. Furthermore, as early as the eve of the founding of the PRC, the China Scientific Society, the Natural Science Research Society of the liberated areas, the China Natural Science Society and the Chinese Scientific Workers Union jointly established the preparatory committee of the National Natural Science Workers Representative Conference (called, for short, the Scientific Representative Conference). Comrade Wu Yuzhang was the chairman of the preparatory committee. Later, as a people's body, the Scientific Representative Conference took part in the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. In 1950 the National Scientific Representative Conference was held in Beijing. At the conference, two nationwide scientific mass bodies--the Scientific Association and the Scientific Popularization Committee--were established. These unified and organized the 29 scientific bodies throughout the country at the time. Later the two were merged into the Scientific and Technological Association of the PRC. It played a very big role in strengthening the unity among scientific and technological workers, unfolding and developing domestic and foreign academic exchanges, promoting scientific research, raising academic levels and popularizing scientific and technological knowledge. With the development of the scientific and technological cause, the number of people in our country's scientific and technological rank also increased manyfold and became a scientific and technological rank that was both Red and expert.

Our party fully estimated the important role which science and technology would play in socialist construction. Thus, in the upsurge of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Zedong issued without delay the great call to the whole nation of "making an advance toward science." The party Central Committee convened in January 1956 a conference concerning the question of intellectuals. At the conference Comrade Mao Zedong called upon the whole party to strive to acquire scientific knowledge, to unite with the intellectuals outside the party and to make great efforts to swiftly catch up with the world's advanced level of science. Comrade Zhou Enlai gave a "Report on the Question of Intellectuals," in which he encouraged the intellectuals to "more positively contribute their strength to the great socialist cause." After this conference, scientific work was placed in an extremely important position.

To realize the call Comrade Mao Zedong issued to swiftly catch up with the world's advanced level of science, in 1956 several hundred scientists, professors and engineering and technological experts, chaired by Comrade Zhou Enlai, took part in the formulation of a long-term plan for the development of science and technology in the following 12 years. This plan was formulated on the basis of an understanding of the level and

trend of development of the world's advanced science and technology, plus the actual situation in our country. It asked that the most urgently needed scientific and technological departments of our country strive to catch up with or closely approach the world's advanced level in 12 years. The formulation of this plan was a successful experience. To catch up with the world's advanced level, this plan took as its starting point the world's advanced scientific and technological level at the time, and it was formulated in accordance with the needs of economic construction, national defense construction and the development of our country's basic scientific theories and the subjective and objective conditions of reality. In the course of formulating and implementing the 12-year plan, we firmly grasped the newly rising key scientific and technological departments, such as atomic energy science and technology, semiconductor science and technology and computer science and technology. These few departments were urgently needed in our country and were at the same time within our ability to handle. Once the plan was ascertained, we adopted emergency measures and concentrated our forces on completing it. In this way we won time and narrowed the gap between these scientific and technological departments and the world's advanced level.

Because this plan was farsighted and practical and conformed to our country's actual situation, and because it embodied resolute and effective measures, the enthusiasm of the whole nation's scientific and technological force was mobilized by this grand plan. Thus, with the exception of basic theoretical work, all the items laid down in this plan were basically completed ahead of schedule in 1962.

As to the importance of basic theoretical research work, Premier Zhou Enlai had already tirelessly counseled us about this 23 years ago. But this work was never given sufficient attention. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" basically negated the importance of basic theoretical research. They slandered basic theory as "divorcing from reality." Using the pretexts that those who were engaged in biology did not know how to grow paddy rice and rear hogs and goats and that those who were engaged in physics did not know how to operate a machine, they opposed basic theoretical research work. We must clarify the question of right and wrong concerning this major principle. We did not do too much basic theoretical research work. In fact, we did too little. This was so in respect to the various subjects and technological departments. Only by striking deep roots can we have abundant leaves. The development of a nation's science and technology cannot be built over the long term on the basis of a backward basic science. We must have farsight and attach sufficient importance to this question.

After the completion ahead of schedule of the major tasks in the 12-year plan, Comrade Zhou Enlai and Comrade Nie Rongzhen again presided over the formulation of a 10-year plan. For all kinds of reasons, mainly the interference and sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," this plan

was compelled to come to a stop. The actions of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in resisting progress were a reaction against the "May Fourth" movement. They not only trampled on socialist democracy but also trampled on science. Wherever the evil tentacles of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" stretched, the democracy and freedom of the people were strangled. Politically, the scientific and technological experts suffered persecution and even lost the guarantee of their personal freedom. Then what freedom did they have for carrying out scientific research? Lin Biao and the "gang of four" frantically advocated modern blind worship, practiced dictatorship and arbitrary rule, opposed the scientific spirit and completely stifled science. For more than a decade the world's modern science was making progress by leaps and bounds, was running 1,000 li in one day and was blossoming and yielding fruit. Almost all the countries of the world today that have relatively faster economic development shared the fruits of modern science and technology of this period and promoted their economies. Yet during this period Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were tearing down in large numbers the scientific and technological research organs, destroying scientific literature and equipment, dissolving the scientific and technological rank, and so on and so forth. They caused us to lose a lot of precious time and widened the gap between our level and the world's advanced scientific and technological level. The living facts told us that without democracy there would be no science. Smashing the "gang of four," we not only rescued socialist democracy but also rescued science. Thenceforth our country's scientific cause entered a new stage of development.

Recalling the past is for the sake of facing the future. In the above we reviewed the course which our country's scientific cause has traversed since the "May Fourth" movement. As of today, the achievements we have scored in science and the number and standard of our scientists are far from commensurate with our position as a big socialist country. Compared with the modern science and technology which run 1,000 li in one day, we are backward. In view of this state, our broad scientific and technological workers, including the scientists of the older generation who since the "May Fourth" period have always advocated science, cherish boundless indignation against the actions of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in resisting progress! Having shattered the "gang of four," we welcome the spring of science. Last year the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng convened the National Science Congress, which proposed the correct line and a series of policies and measures for the development of our country's scientific cause, formulated a plan and expressed our party's unprecedented concern for the development of the scientific cause, thereby greatly encouraging our scientific and technological workers. We scientific and technological workers fervently hope that the policies and measures of the party Central Committee will be implemented by every unit, every research project and every individual. We scientific and technological workers, old and young, all want to do more work and to make greater contributions to the four modernizations, in particular to the modernization of science and technology.

IV. A Few Points About the Development of Our Country's Scientific and Technological Cause

To suit the shift in focus of the party's work, I believe that our scientific and technological circles should follow the spirit of the third plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, continue to shatter the state of ideological petrification and semipetrification, further emancipate thinking, and find a path that suits our country's actual situation in developing the scientific and technological cause, so as to enable the gradual building up of our own scientific and technological body. Here I will express my views on a few questions. I cannot avoid errors, so I hope the comrades will criticize and correct them.

(1) Use Marxism to guide scientific research work.

Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is the guiding thought of our country and the compass in realizing the modernization of science and technology. In their own scientific research work our scientific and technological workers should consciously study Marxism and use Marxism to guide their scientific research work. This is a basic principle. Now, some scientific and technological workers note that many scientists of the capitalist countries do not regard Marxism as the guide and even oppose Marxism. Then why is it that they can score successes, even outstanding successes, in scientific research work? Some people, particularly young people who have just taken part in scientific and technological work and science and engineering college students, also hold that this guide--Marxism--no longer works in the research work in natural science and technology. Thus, they raise the question of whether it is necessary for scientific and technological workers to study Marxism. This is certainly a very serious question that deserves a conscientious reply.

The Marxist method of materialist dialectics is a generalization and summation of the general laws of nature, human society and human thought and is a scientific world outlook and methodology. A basic principle of Marxist philosophy is to proceed from objective reality and is therefore a unity of theory and practice. In using Marxist philosophy as the guide in research work in the natural sciences, the most fundamental rule is to respect objective reality, conduct studies on the objective, existing natural phenomena on the basis of practice, and ascertain their inherent and not their contrived laws. This is science. In the history of science there are some great scientists who are not dialectical materialists and who are even idealists and metaphysicians. But when they operate in the realm of their research, and when they are carrying out research on a specially assigned target, they are either consciously or subconsciously materialists and dialecticians. Their research method is scientific, that is, in accordance with the law of dialectical thinking. Otherwise they cannot possibly obtain brilliant research results. In his article "The Development of Socialism From Illusion to Science,"

Engels once pointed out: "There are only a limited number of natural scientists now who have learned how to think dialectically." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 420) Thus, there are only a limited number of natural scientists who have rendered great contributions and made major breakthroughs in natural science theories. Also, in order to acquire dialectical thinking, many scientists have often searched in the dark and taken many twists and turns before they finally discover the scientific method. After scoring definite achievements, some scientists obstinately persevered in the idealist and metaphysical world outlook and methodology. Their method of thinking is tightly manacled by idealism and metaphysics. Thus, they make no advance in scientific research. Today, on superior grounds, we study and apply Marxist philosophy and enable ourselves to become conscious materialists and dialecticians. How can we turn our heads and fall back onto the old path which scientists of capitalist countries have taken and belittle Marxist philosophy? In scientific and technological research work we must overcome the tendency of "the theory that philosophy is useless," most consciously study and apply Marxist philosophy and use Marxist philosophy as the guide in scientific research work. Our party also encourages scientific and technological workers to suitably learn a little about historical materialism, political economy and scientific socialism, which will be helpful to our engagement in scientific and technological research work and to our becoming both Red and expert.

After the liberation, many of our scientific and technological achievements were scored under the guidance of Marxist philosophy. For instance, the presentation of the "straton model" in basic particles, the success of synthetic insulin, etc. were brilliant examples of the application of materialist dialectics. But, for all kinds of reasons, particularly the interference and sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the help rendered by Marxist philosophy to natural science was still too little. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" used some phraseology of Marxist philosophy as clubs to randomly negate some correct natural science theories. They highhandedly labeled some natural science theories as "idealism," "metaphysics" and "fake science." Their "theory of substitution" was even more outrageous. It almost negated all the modern and contemporary natural science theories. They brought about extremely pernicious influences, seriously dampened the prestige of Marxist philosophy among the scientific and technological workers and ruined the Marxist style of study. The above-mentioned "theory of the uselessness" of Marxist philosophy and the skepticism toward the guiding role of Marxism in scientific and technological work are not altogether unconnected with some erroneous methods in the past and with the "theory of substitution" which the "gang of four" manufactured.

Marxist philosophy only pointed out the general laws of nature, human society and human thought. In respect to natural science research, it only put forward the most general scientific methods. It could not substitute for the theories of mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology

and other specialized subjects, nor could it substitute for the research methods of these scientific subjects. The easiest and most effortless thing to do is to substitute the general principles of Marxist philosophy for the concrete conclusions of natural science and to label natural science theories as "materialism," "dialectics," "idealism" and "metaphysics." But this is definitely not scientific research work, and it is definitely not Marxism. A different subject has a different content and a different method of research. Only by making great efforts and doing hard work under the guidance of the basic principle of Marxist philosophy in conducting research work on specific subjects can we make new contributions to science and reach a new vista.

(2) Unfold letting a hundred schools of thought contend and practice academic freedom.

We emphasize encouraging and advocating scientific and technological workers to study Marxism and use Marxist philosophy to guide scientific research work. This does not in any way obstruct the unfolding of the movement to let a hundred schools of thought contend. On the contrary, the resolute implementation of the policy of letting a hundred schools of thought contend and the true practice of academic freedom are precisely a concrete manifestation of the application of Marxism in scientific and technological work. Whether the value of a scientific and technological result is great or small is not determined by how much phraseology and conclusions of Marxist philosophy one uses. Rather, it is determined by objective effects and by social practice. Social practice is the only criterion for testing the truth. The contention between different schools and different academic viewpoints in science should be solved by the scientists through their own practice. We must abolish the method of arbitrarily applying Marxism as a readymade conclusion and brutally interfering with normal activities within the realm of scientific research. Marxist philosophy is a weapon that liberates thinking, encourages and guides scientific workers to break through "prohibited zones," launches new explorations and builds a new realm; it is not a chain that keeps thinking in shackles.

The initiators of the new cultural movement of the "May Fourth" period put forward the "newest trend of thought" that was introduced to various countries and explored "the origin of modern civilization." At that time the political doctrines, social doctrines and scientific thinking, regardless of school, of various European and American countries were introduced into China. Many participants in the new cultural movement thus explored, from different class standpoints, paths by which to rescue the nation and the people and expressed their stands respectively. Such a situation resembled somewhat the style of "letting a hundred schools of thought contend." In their contention and in their clash of opinions and stands, particularly in practice, people gradually understood the truth and falsity of various opinions and stands and knew what to choose. After the October Revolution, Marxism spread to China.

Progressive intellectuals quickly realized that this was the scientific truth that would solve China's problems. Therefore, they grasped this truth firmly, introduced it to the masses of various circles and gradually linked it with the reality of the Chinese revolution. The introduction and contention of the various schools and the free debates on the various opinions and stands during the "May Fourth" period greatly enhanced the ideological emancipation of the people of our country, particularly the intellectuals, and urged people to consider a problem independently and to reach their own conclusions. Such an experience is worth our attention.

Political democracy and academic freedom are very important to the development of science. Also, these two are mutually related, which is why the pioneers of the "May Fourth" movement put forward democracy and science in the same slogan. The target of science is objective fact. From different angles and applying different means and methods in conducting research on an objective phenomenon, thereby forming different schools and viewpoints and expressing opinions--these are not only normal but can be said to be the bounden duties of science. They should not be restricted by administrative measures. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the broadest form of people's democracy. It provides a broad vista for scientific research and free academic contention. However, when we suffer losses and interference in our work, then the party's policy of letting a hundred schools of thought contend cannot be truly implemented and academic freedom cannot be consciously guaranteed. If we employ administrative measures to interfere with the contention between different schools and different viewpoints in science, or if we use political slogans in the contention and criticize this or that because of one slight move, then it will be very difficult to have a truly free discussion. After the liberation, cases of using administrative measures to support one school and one viewpoint and suppress another school and another viewpoint did occur. In 1958 the slogan of "pulling out the white banner" was once used in academic contention. As a result, some academic viewpoints, a school or even an entire subject (such as psychology) were regarded as "white banners" and pulled out by mistake. This lesson was also a profound one.

Lin Biao and the "gang of four" vehemently exercised feudal fascist dictatorship, undermined socialist democracy and regarded the scientific and technological workers as targets of an "all-round dictatorship." Politically there was no longer any democracy, and scientifically the policy of letting a hundred schools of thought contend and academic freedom were strangled. With one blow, Yao Wenyuan could sentence many schools, viewpoints and even subjects to death. The tyrannical style of the "gang of four" in science seriously obstructed the development of our country's scientific cause.

After the smashing of the "gang of four," the policy of letting a hundred schools of thought contend was again implemented, and the academic

atmosphere began to come alive. This was only a beginning. The phenomenon of employing administrative force to interfere with academic contention still existed in varying degrees. Some academic viewpoints could not be published because they could not obtain the support of the administrative departments concerned. Some comrades always wanted to raise a certain school and a certain academic viewpoint to the position of "official science" and did not show support for some other schools and academic viewpoints or did not welcome their "airing" and "blossoming." All this affected the implementation of the policy of letting a hundred schools of thought contend. As a scientist, one should emancipate thinking, persevere in the truth, revise errors and disregard the attitude of the administrative leading personnel. But then, the administrative leading personnel concerned should not employ administrative measures to interfere with and affect the contention of academic circles. In academic contention, parochial prejudice and captious dispute, instead of contention after the comradely manner among the various schools, existed to varying degrees. This also was unfavorable to the launching of free discussions.

Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Letting a hundred schools of thought contend is a method of developing science." Only by resolutely and conscientiously implementing this policy can our country's scientific cause prosper.

(3) Fully mobilize the enthusiasm of the scientific and technological workers.

Science and technology are productive forces. The modernization of science and technology is the key to realizing the four modernizations. After the smashing of the "gang of four," the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng attached great importance to and showed concern for scientific and technological work and anticipated the appearance of the situation in which "triumphant news keeps pouring in and men of talent keep coming out in succession" on the scientific and technological front. At the same time, we can see that the significance of the modernization of science and technology in the realization of the four modernizations is not yet understood by all comrades. This is because, for a long time, there was the so-called "enthusiasm at both ends and indifference in the middle." A country that is scientifically backward cannot possibly be a modernized country that is prosperous, rich and powerful. Thus, the slogan of "science" advocated during the "May Fourth" period still has its realistic significance today.

The history of modern science and technology proves that the rate of a country's scientific development is to a large extent determined by the degree of attention the country pays to developing its science and technology. This attention is not manifested verbally, but more importantly is manifested in the amount of manpower and material power the country invests in the cause. Many capitalist countries with

advanced science and technology spend around 2 percent, maybe more, of their total national output on scientific and technological research. Proportionally, our country spends comparatively less than that. An advanced system and method of fostering scientific and technological personnel are also important factors for swiftly developing the scientific and technological cause. In this respect there is much in other countries from which we can learn and borrow. However, what is more important is that we should have a Chinese-style road and a road of our own in fostering scientific and technological personnel.

In addition to the above-mentioned and other factors, what play is given to the enthusiasm of the scientific and technological workers is crucial to the development of a country's scientific cause. Work is done by men. The scientific and technological workers play an important role in the great cause of the modernization of science and technology. They are the "pioneers." To fully mobilize their enthusiasm is of decisive significance to the development of our country's scientific and technological cause. This is an important reason why the party Central Committee convened the National Science Congress last year.

As early as January 1956, in his "Report on the Question of Intellectuals," Comrade Zhou Enlai clearly pointed out on behalf of the party Central Committee: "The outlook of our country's intellectual circles has undergone basic changes in the past 6 years." "Intellectuals have become an important factor in the various aspects of life in our country." However, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were extremely hostile to the intellectuals, slandered the broad ranks of intellectuals as the "stinking ninth category" and "bourgeois intellectuals" and clamored that they would exercise "all-round dictatorship" over them. For many years the intellectuals were often in a position of being straightened out and were like birds that were startled by the mere twang of a bow-string. At the National Science Congress the party Central Committee clearly announced that the majority of intellectuals were part of the working class and a force to be relied upon. This thus shattered the spiritual shackles that had long been placed on the intellectuals and basically mobilized the enthusiasm of the broad ranks of scientific and technological workers. After the National Science Congress, relevant policies and measures on mobilizing the enthusiasm of the scientific and technological workers were implemented step by step. However, many of our scientific and technological workers also felt that progress in implementing the spirit of the National Science Congress was relatively slow and that in some places and units there was little or no change. Thus, we cannot say that the enthusiasm of the scientific and technological workers has been fully mobilized. A considerable number of scientific and technological personnel who were really learned but who were expending their efforts in other places have not been transferred back to their scientific and technological posts; in many units the tasks are not clarified and not implemented, and the scientific and technological personnel have nothing to do; because no suitable

arrangements are made regarding their livelihood, many scientific and technological personnel are busy all day with such household chores as obtaining fuel and food and therefore cannot concentrate on carrying out scientific research work. All this represents a big waste of the country's wealth. Because the content and methods of political and ideological work in the scientific and technological departments cannot bring about timely changes in accordance with the new situation and tasks or correctly answer the questions which the broad ranks of scientific and technological personnel are concerned about and are raising in the advance toward the modernization of science and technology, the act of giving full play to the enthusiasm of the scientific and technological personnel is also affected. Some comrades within the scientific and technological departments who are engaged in the party's work have, until today, only verbally and not actually regarded the intellectuals as part of the working class and targets to be relied upon. The pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in criticizing the so-called "specialists line" is still effective. The party's policies have not been thoroughly implemented, and the initiative and enthusiasm of the scientific and technological personnel are still suppressed to varying degrees.

To give full play to the role of scientific and technological workers in scientific and technological management work is an important question in mobilizing the enthusiasm of the scientific and technological personnel and a key to modernizing our scientific and technological management work. Some comrades are not used to seeing the "know-hows" participate in the leading work of scientific and technological departments and scientific research organs. They even think that this is contradictory to the strengthening of the party leadership. If this attitude does not change, then, even with more scientific and technological personnel taking part in scientific and technological management work, we still cannot truly bring their role into full play. Many scientific and technological personnel hope that in scientific and technological work they will truly have both jobs and authority. It is easier to have jobs. Now many scientists, specialists and professors have assumed leading posts. But it is not so easy to have authority. What the scientific and technological workers ask for is not an official title. What they ask for is to have greater right of speech and right of decision in the formulation of scientific research projects, the selection of scientific research personnel, the judgment of results in scientific research, the promotion of scientific and technological personnel and the weighing of scientific and technological questions in economic construction. Scientific and technological experts also have shortcomings here and there. We should make use of their strong points and avoid their weaknesses. If scientific and technological personnel are truly given posts and authority, then that will greatly improve our country's scientific and technological management work and accelerate the pace of the modernization of science and technology. Of course, the scientific and technological workers also should strive to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong

Thought, persevere in the four basic principles, perfect their skills constantly in their undertakings and fulfill in a better manner the tasks entrusted to them by the party and the people.

Our country's scientific cause has traversed 60 unusual years under the banner of democracy and science put forth during the "May Fourth" period. Although the democracy and science we talk about today are basically different from those talked about by the forerunners of the "May Fourth" movement, in terms of building a modernized, powerful socialist country we cannot do without Mr Sai and Mr De. They are all the more indispensable in the development of our country's scientific cause. We must inherit and give prominence to the scientific spirit and the democratic spirit of the "May Fourth" movement, face the future and strive hard. We can foretell that, in the course of the modernized construction, our country's scientific cause will develop at an unprecedented speed.

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PROBE INTO THE LAW OF EDUCATION, RUN INSTITUTES OF HIGHER LEARNING WELL

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[Article by Zeng Ming [2582 7686] [of Xiamen University]]

[Text] A shift of emphasis in the role of institutes of higher learning means giving priority to teaching and scientific research in order to provide better-quality education and a higher academic level so as to train the kind of specialists required to realize the China-oriented four modernizations and provide the state with the prized fruits of scientific research. The tasks facing the party committees of our institutes of higher learning, therefore, are to carry out the line, principle and policy of the party; master step by step the objective law of education; act in accordance with the law of education; and run the schools well.

The law of education, like the law of economics and any other law, exists objectively, independent of the wishes of man. Actual practice attests that when we act in agreement with the law of education our educational establishments develop without a hitch and the quality of education improves steadily. On the other hand, the quality of education declines and educational establishments suffer when we contravene the law of education. The sum total of both positive and negative experience, especially the lesson derived from the punishing experience of acting against the objective law, gives us a better understanding of the law of education and makes us see clearly the need to master it.

Practice is the only criterion to assess the validity of truth. In this new period of history we must employ the scientific approach of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought to assess our experience, study new situations and tackle new problems. Looking back on the road traveled by our Xiamen University during the past 30 years and with reference to the spirit of the third plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee, we believe the following problems are so basic that they deserve further exploration.

1. Socialist higher education must adapt itself to the development of socialist economic construction and work for the realization of the four modernizations.

Education is a tool of both class struggle and the struggle for production. "Man's activity in production is the most basic activity of practice, which controls all other activities." ("On Practice") As a tool of struggle for production, education is an everlasting social function. Productive labor and the transmission of the knowledge of production have existed side by side since the beginning of mankind. Education will still be essential to the mastery of production skills even in a communist society in which classes no longer exist. So the relationship between education and the struggle for production is the most basic relationship. The ultimate objectives of proletarian revolution and class struggle are to release the productive forces, develop productivity and establish socialism and communism. This is proletarian politics.

This inherent basic relationship between education and the struggle for production rests on the fact that education is the prerequisite for the revitalization of productive labor and the development of tools of production. The relationship is especially unique today, as scientific and technological developments have reached such heights of sophistication. Modernization of the tools of production, one of the controlling factors of productivity, depends on modernization of science and technology, and the development of science and technology rests on education. It takes education to help the productive laborers, who handle modernized tools of production, "to acquire in specific areas the capacity and skill required of well-developed and specialized productive labor forces." (Karl Marx, "Das Kapital," "Complete Works of Marx and Lenin," Vol 23, p 195) If we say that longer working hours and greater intensity of labor were the way to increase labor productivity in the precapitalist period, and that machinery was the principal method of accomplishing this in the early capitalist period, the most important thing today at the apex of scientific and technological development is to raise the scientific and technological level of the technical personnel and workers and the scientific level of the economic managerial personnel. Thus, education as a tool of struggle for production is becoming more and more important. Since the 1960's the fully developed capitalist countries have expanded their educational establishments more than 10 times and enormously raised their level of scientific, technological and managerial education. Education has drawn so much attention in all countries throughout the world that they are virtually engaged in an international education race, a kind of international political and economic struggle. Today, as we are committed to socialist modernization, we have every reason to avail ourselves of this opportunity to apply this law to our production projects. The communique of the third plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee points out: "While adhering to the basic principle of self-reliance, we must make positive efforts to develop equal and reciprocal economic cooperation with other countries,

go all out to adopt the world's advanced technology and equipment, and resolutely reinforce our educational and scientific work for the realization of modernization." This is a logical combination of the three essential elements of productivity, namely, the tools of production, modern science and technology and the education of specialists. Institutes of higher learning are places to train specialists, and the level of their training, be they scientists, technical experts, managerial personnel or specialists in the ideological field, will affect, directly or indirectly, the level of development of productivity. Consequently, when an institute of higher learning plans its specialization facilities, educational goals, school organization and curricula, it must give priority to quality and consider how to meet the requirement of the development of the socialist economy and construction.

The concept that education as a tool of struggle for production must adapt itself to the development of the socialist economy implies two distinct postulates. First of all, education must promote the development of the socialist economy. The other postulate of equal importance is that the development of the socialist economy controls the development of education. The scope and pace of educational development rest on the level of development of the socialist economy. Education cannot work for the development of the socialist economy unless it stays within definite limits as regards both quantity and pace. On the other hand, it cannot help promote the development of the socialist economy unless it achieves a definite level of quality. Higher education may expand in quantity and pace as long as it insures quality and stays within limits that are compatible with the development of the national economy. This does not rule out the use of different methods and approaches to train specialists of different grades for different purposes. At any rate, all institutes of higher learning must work constantly to improve the quality of education. In the 1960's our school enrolled more students than we could handle, and as a result we had to bear the brunt of devising measures of readjustment. So we must remember the lesson of our adventure in increasing the size of our school in violation of the law of education. It is vitally important to maintain a proper relationship between educational development and the development of the national economy on the one hand and the relationship between quantity and quality on the other so as to enable higher education and the socialist economy to develop under an overall plan based on the socialist economic law of a well-balanced national economy.

While we emphasize the significance and influence of education as a tool of struggle for production, we do not mean to overlook the importance of education as a tool of class struggle. These two functions are closely related as long as there are classes, class contradictions and class struggle. For education to play a role in the development of productivity in a class society, it has to follow definite relations of production and stand for a definite political orientation and ideology. In reality, the role of education in developing productivity is inevitably

tied to specific class interests and political objectives. The capitalists educate their specialists and train their skilled labor forces to increase surplus value, reap maximum profits, safeguard the capitalist system and strengthen the dictatorship of the capitalist class. We educate our scientific and technological specialists and raise the scientific and cultural level of the whole country to build a strong socialist state through the four modernizations and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat. In a capitalist society these two functions are often opposed to one another. For instance, the capitalists, who do not want their workers to raise their level of scientific knowledge, have to let them acquire a certain amount of scientific and technical skill. They work persistently to achieve their political objectives in education and camouflage it as "strict impartation of knowledge." Under a socialist system these two functions work in complete harmony to bring about conditions conducive to the reduction or even elimination of the three big differences and to build a firm material foundation for the realization of communism. However, if the relationship between the two is not well coordinated, errors can work to the detriment of our socialist construction.

During the past 30 years we placed more stress at one time on science and technology than on political-ideological education. At another time we were so obsessed with class struggle that we downgraded the training of scientific and technical personnel, almost to the point of extinction. We must learn from this experience. Now we are committed to reinforcing scientific and technological education in order to achieve the four modernizations. But it is a mistake to overlook the proletarian political orientation and neglect political-ideological education. We must correctly carry out the basic principle of the party to make education serve the proletariat politically and merge with productive labor, and we must exert ourselves to train Red experts to form contingents of educated proletarians to buttress and develop the revolutionary undertakings of the proletariat.

2. Socialist institutes of higher learning must bring up all-round specialists and make teaching their principal task.

Comrade Mao Zedong recommended: "The guiding principle of our education should stress the moral, intellectual and physical development of the students so as to help them become educated workers imbued with socialist consciousness." This principle of education expresses quite accurately the objective law of socialist education. Consequently, to act in agreement with the law of education means to carry out fully the principle recommended by Comrade Mao Zedong and to staff the country with physically fit Red experts. This is the only criterion for assessing the quality of education provided by institutes of higher learning and for distinguishing proletarian education from capitalist education. In reality, the principle is the ultimate manifestation of the postulate that education must serve the proletariat politically and

merge with productive labor. Today, if the institutes of higher learning cannot turn out enough scientific and technical cadres, managerial cadres and specialists in all areas for the realization of the four modernizations, then there is no reason for them to exist at all. The "gang of four" claimed: "A university is for everyone to study," and "we much prefer to have workers who have no culture." These allegations are fundamentally opposed to our party's principle of education and violate the law that socialist higher education must bring up all-round experts.

To carry out fully and correctly the party's educational principle, it is necessary to handle correctly the relationship between politics and vocational activities and between moral, intellectual and physical education. First of all, we must let politics take command and allow politics to guide vocational activities. Since our higher education is to train experts for realizing the four modernizations, it must adhere to four basic principles, namely, to follow the socialist road, to uphold the proletarian dictatorship, to uphold the leadership of the party and to adhere to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Otherwise, we will lose our direction. We are just as anxious to teach the students to liberate their minds and promote socialist democracy as we are to provide them with the kind of education geared to organizational discipline and moral integrity, so as to bring them up in the spirit of a communist outlook, composure and collective heroism. This is a major political-ideological task of the schools.

Moral, intellectual and physical training, the qualities of all-round new communists, are interdependent, indivisible and inseparable. The trend of overlooking moral and physical training is just as erroneous as the trend of overlooking the importance of intellectual training, which we all know is the central link in an all-round education. Even though the "gang of four" brandished the big stick "give first place to intellectual development" in order to sneer at people, nobody could challenge the objective law that intellectual development is the central link of education in schools. Without intellectual development there won't be any knowledge to pass on, and education will have nothing to offer to the four modernizations and the political cause of the proletariat. "Give first place to intellectual development" first appeared in the second edition of Kairov's book ("On Education"). He said: "Marx believes that intellectual development, i.e., education, ought to rank first in the all-round education of the people." The allegation is based on "Instructions on Certain Questions Given to Delegates by the Provisional Central Committee" prepared by Marx in 1866. Marx said: "We interpret education to stand for three things: first, intellectual development; second, physical development...third, technical education." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 16, p 218) No doubt, Marx valued intellectual development and considered it an essential part of the education of an all-round man. But Kairov misrepresented Marx' true intention by making "first, intellectual development" mean "give first

place to intellectual development." He also mistook Marx' guideline on lawful struggles for specific issues under specific historical circumstances for his definition of proletarian education. In his letter to (?Kugelman) dated 9 October 1866, Marx had this to say about the guideline: "I deliberately restricted the program to these specific points to enable the workers to reach an agreement and act together, and to nurture and promote both class struggle and the concept that organized labor is vitally important to the class." ("Correspondence of Marx and Engels," p 24) Obviously, under the historical circumstances at that time, the right of child labor to receive education which Marx fought for covered only intellectual development, physical development and technical training; it did not include the repudiated capitalist moral development. As for proletarian moral development, Marx believed that "the capitalist schools just could not provide this kind of education, and they had to learn it from the grownups." ("Minutes of K. Marx' Views on the Current Drive for Popular Education," "Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 16, p 656) As a matter of fact, no capitalist ever practiced "give first place to intellectual development." Treating it as something that had existed for 17 years, the "gang of four" used "give first place to intellectual development" as a club to beat people, enforce their obscurantist policy and drive people back to the age of ignorance of the caveman.

Like intellectual development, which is achieved through teaching, moral and physical development in school are also achieved through teaching. This, however, does not exclude the use of vehicles other than teaching to give students ideological-political training. But the cultivation of a communist world outlook and moral integrity in school has to be done mainly through teaching. This applies to physical development, too. Making teaching the principal task is an objective law of education we have learned through years of practice and is also a line of demarcation between school education and other forms of social education. Schools are for the transmission of knowledge and the training of specialists. The duty of socialist institutes of higher learning is to transmit knowledge of class struggle and struggle for production and to train Red experts for the proletariat. Comrade Mao Zedong correctly pointed out: "Students should make learning their principal target." Naturally, schools should make teaching their principal task. Pitting "make learning the principal target" against "make teaching the principal task," the "gang of four" claimed that the former embodied Mao Zedong Thought while the latter was revisionism. How stupid and ridiculous they were. If teaching were not the principal task, a school would not be a school, just as factories and farms are not factories and farms if they do not manufacture goods and grow crops.

Making teaching the principal task means that both teachers and students must spend a greater part of their time and energy on teaching and learning. Political work, social activities and productive labor must not take too much of their time. Political campaigns must not disrupt

teaching. Making teaching the principal task is not just a question of scheduling. The law of teaching must be understood and applied to improve the content, methods and quality of education.

Numerous principles of teaching already proven effective in practice represent, to a certain extent, the internal relationships in teaching and are matters concerning basic laws. Instead of contravening them, we should refurbish and constantly improve them in practice. They include, for instance, the relationship between theory and practice which emerges during teaching, the principle of applying theory to practice in the relationship between indirect experience and direct experience, the principle of individualized instruction according to latent individual differences among students, the principle of student activism fostered under the guidance of teachers and reflected in the contradiction-unity relationship between teaching and learning, and the principle of step-by-step progress which still holds its ground in spite of recurrent "criticisms." As a matter of basic law in teaching, step-by-step progress represents the characteristics of the thinking process, the cumulative nature of knowledge and the quality of the physical and mental development of students. Learning must proceed from the shallower to the deeper, from the simpler to the more complex, from the easier to the more difficult and from the known to the unknown. Teaching materials should be arranged according to each particular discipline and psychology of learning. There are introductory and followup courses. A teaching program generally consists of three stages, namely, basic instruction, basic specialized instruction and specialized instruction. This is commonly known as "the old trilogy" or "the three-story building." It agrees with the law of step-by-step progress. Hostile to systematic teaching, the "gang of four" screamed, "Smash the old trilogy," "Burn down the three-story building." But matters of objective laws are unbreakable and indestructible. According to one of the teachers: "Pressed hard at the time, we had no choice but to appear to set it on fire. Then, when we found out that the students were unable to learn, we secretly put up another 'three-story building.'" But there must be a staircase and a hallway to get from one floor to another, and it is up to the teachers to properly build the staircase and the hallway. Since the downfall of the "gang of four," the activism of both teachers and students has climbed to such a record height that the teachers are as anxious to teach more as the students are anxious to learn more. This is admirable, but they have not observed the law of step-by-step progress. Teachers who want to teach more have simply increased the amount and complexity of teaching materials, homework and examinations. Students who want to learn more have had to get up early and retire late in order to learn by rote, rush through their homework and prepare for examinations. As a result, there have been more and more cases of "indigestion," cramming and poor health. This is as much a matter of great concern as it is an indication of the failure to observe the law of teaching. We should not substitute our subject wishes for objective law. The only thing to do is to constantly improve the method and

quality of teaching so as to help students better in their studies within specified periods of time.

3. To realize the four modernizations, the state expects institutes of higher learning to serve as centers of both education and research and to turn out not only trained specialists but also the fruits of research. This meets the needs of socialist construction and agrees with the law that institutes of higher learning are to train specialists. Since the training of specialists involves taking over the knowledge accumulated and consolidated by our predecessors, on the one hand, and making new discoveries and inventions to advance science and technology, on the other, it is necessary for those engaged in teaching to impart scientific knowledge to their students and to train them to acquire the capacity and skill to do scientific research.

Teaching and research are closely related and mutually encouraging. All scientific theories represent man's knowledge of objective laws as derived from his class struggles and struggles for production and tested in practice. Teaching in institutes of higher learning is to pass on the fruits of research of our predecessors. It goes without saying that scientific development is practically impossible without the accumulation and transmission of the fruits of research of our predecessors. But as objective events and things continue to develop, man's knowledge also expands. So, man must always seek new explorations and research to understand phenomena awaiting discovery and laws yet to be understood in order to enrich and develop what he already possesses. As teaching is to research, so the inheritance and transmission of knowledge on the one hand and new discoveries and inventions on the other are inherently related. These relationships become unified in the training of specialists by institutes of higher learning. In the first place, development of scientific research raises the quality of teaching, not only bringing in new fruits and new methods of research to enrich existing teaching materials, but also elevating the academic level of teachers through research. Secondly, a higher scientific level of institutes of higher learning depends on a better quality of teaching to turn out high-caliber specialists for scientific research. At the same time, many challenging topics of research which often emerge during the course of teaching can spur more scientific research.

Comrade Wang Yanan, deceased chancellor of our university, did a lot to coordinate teaching and research, hoping to make a comprehensive university "a teaching as well as research institute." When he was in charge of the school administration, he worked just as hard to promote research as he did to upgrade teaching. To tie together teaching and research, he asked all the departments and research laboratories to come up with both teaching and research plans. For instance, in 1950 the chemistry department of our university launched a research project in conjunction with the teaching of physics and chemistry to study the X-ray diffraction of matter structure, and it enrolled crystal structure research students

and teachers taking refresher courses to participate in the project. It succeeded sooner than anticipated in offering courses on matter structure and research projects on catalytic and electrolytic processes. In 1958 the department expanded these projects into three teaching-research laboratories of catalysis, electrolysis and matter structure. Its catalysis and electrolysis research laboratories eventually became leading catalytic and electrolytic research centers of the country. The research not only improved the capability of teachers and the quality of courses offered to the students, but also bore fruit to enrich, rejuvenate and elevate the teaching materials. The textbooks they prepared, "Cuihua Yuanli" and "Dianhua Yanjiufangfa," now rank among the most advanced in these particular fields, as they are the fruits of their catalytic and electrolytic research. The department of mathematics is another example. Established after the 1952 reorganization of university departments and colleges, the department began with some 20 teachers and a limited number of students, but it resolved to train its students to do research work. It once had seminars on technical academic topics in which both young teachers and research students participated actively. This kind of intense academic atmosphere helped the department to turn out a group of aggressive scientific workers, including Chen Jingrun, a celebrated mathematician. His maiden work, "Tali Wenti," was written at Xiamen University. Facts show that it is necessary and possible to make our school a center for both teaching and scientific research.

If we really want to have "twin-center" institutes of higher learning, there must be comprehensive plans to insure satisfactory performance of teaching and research tasks, honest solution of the contradictions between teaching and research, and due emphasis on scientific and technological research geared to the need of the four modernizations, especially key scientific research projects mandated by the state which require adequate manpower and material and financial support. We must concentrate on key projects, foster cooperation between schools and specific industries and among different study disciplines, restore and build research facilities, and organize sizable high-caliber scientific research forces to form "sharpshooting echelons." This is the only way to insure full development of the sciences and an inexhaustible reservoir of high-caliber specialists.

4. We must rely on teachers to run socialist institutes of higher learning well.

Whether or not we should rely on teachers to run socialist institutes of higher learning well is a question concerning the party's mass line. Obviously, the basic masses of institutes of higher learning are teachers, students, cadres and workers engaged in teaching and research. First among these are the masses of teachers, who are the brainworkers. Cultivated and educated by the party, the great majority of teachers, in terms of basic political outlook, are proletarians, a force the party trusts. To rely on teachers is completely compatible with the class line and mass

line of the party. Addressing the 1978 National Educational Workers Conference, Comrade Deng Xiaoping gave a full, accurate and unequivocal assessment of the importance and function of teachers in school work. He pointed out candidly: "Whether or not a school can train capable people for the proletariat and bring up educated workers with socialist consciousness who are morally, intellectually and physically fit depends entirely on the teachers."

The position and function of teachers in a school are determined by the objective law of education. The principal concern of schools is teaching, and the principal participants in teaching are teachers and students. Generally speaking, teachers are the informed, while students are the uninformed. Guided by the party's educational principle, the teachers impart knowledge to students, give them ideological education and train them to analyze and solve problems. The content, methods and links of teaching are in the hands of teachers, who also provide guidance to students on how to proceed with their studies. The teachers are the dominant aspect of the contradiction between teaching and learning, and they play a leading role in the teaching process. Whether or not students learn well and take the initiative to develop themselves morally, intellectually and physically depends largely on the teachers. This is what Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "The problem of educational reform is primarily a problem of teachers." We should do what Lenin said: "We should elevate our people's teachers to an unprecedented position of respect which has never existed and will never exist in any capitalist society. This is a self-evident truth." ("Selections From Diaries," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 678) But this self-evident truth was trampled upon by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," who were hostile to educated elements and attacked and persecuted teachers. Alleging that "the more education one has, the more reactionary one is," they treated teachers as "the targets of dictatorship." Pitting students against teachers, they asked students "to run" schools and "reform" teachers. In the book "Quanjiaohui Jiyao" which they fabricated, the broad masses of teachers were grouped as "original teachers" to be "reformed" and "used" but not trusted. Actually, they treated the "original teachers" as employees retained for service at will. They also proclaimed that "worker, peasant and soldier teachers are the backbone of the teaching forces of the union of three," which was a wanton attempt to drive a wedge into the relations between workers, peasants and soldiers on the one hand and the educated elements on the other. Of course, it is a good thing to hire experienced workers, peasants, soldiers, and technicians to impart their experiences to the students. This can still be done. But it is entirely another matter to run schools without relying on teachers, students, staff members and school workers, instead using workers, peasants and soldiers from outside to impose "total dictatorship" on the schools even without party leadership. This is politically reactionary, erroneous in principle and proven harmful in practice.

The justification offered by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" was that the so-called schools were "the citadels of capitalist intellectuals." But are teachers of the institutes of higher learning capitalist or revolutionary intellectuals? Were there "citadels of capitalist intellectuals" during the 17 years prior to the Great Cultural Revolution? We must respect historical facts. As far as our school is concerned, its entire body of teachers, educated and cared for by the party since the liberation, has undergone basic changes. Those educated elements from the old society have achieved considerable political progress, and many have joined our party. The teaching forces brought up after the founding of the People's Republic have grown up and matured. The backbone of the existing teaching and research force consists of college graduates or research students educated by the party in the 1950's and 1960's. For more than 20 years these teachers have been loyal to the party, loyal to socialism and dedicated to educational work, and they have done many worthy things, but they were put to severe tests during the Great Cultural Revolution. Some of them who struggled bitterly against the "gang of four" were imprisoned on charges of "active counter-revolutionary offenses," but they held their ground with revolutionary heroic resolve. Some who resisted pressure to uphold the cause of teaching basic principles and research did their best to assist students who were weak in learning to catch up in basic studies. Others carried on experiments at home after the laboratories were destroyed and worked without complaint for the party and socialist construction. Could these educated elements with such a high degree of political consciousness and dedication to the well-being of the people be branded capitalist intellectuals? During the 17 years prior to the Great Cultural Revolution our school was always led by the party. Comrade Mao Zedong reminded us all the time that it was crucial for institutes of higher learning to remain under the leadership of the party, and that is what we have done. The party committee as a body actually studies and decides all the major policies and projects of the school. Party leadership in institutes of higher learning is an established fact that nobody can deny. To strengthen the party leadership and to unite and rely on the teachers represent unity of action, not contradictions. Only by strengthening the leadership of the party can we foster the socialist activism of the teachers and unite and rely on them to make party leadership a reality in institutes of higher learning. Sinister and pernicious, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" sought to deny the position of teachers, do away with party leadership in institutes of higher learning and destroy the educational establishments of the proletariat.

It is by no means simple to foster the study of the law of education and run institutes of higher learning in agreement with its tenets. This is a gigantic task requiring a great deal of hard work.

The prerequisite and starting point for correctly understanding and mastering the objective law of education is to adhere to the Marxist ideological line and liberate our minds. The third plenum of the 11th

CCP Central Committee highly valued its deliberations on the proposition that practice is the only criterion for evaluating truth. It considered the criterion presently vital and historically significant to the drive to encourage all the comrades of our party and the people of the whole country to liberate their minds and rectify the ideological line. The impact of these deliberations has been felt widely in our educational world, which has been trying to bring order out of chaos. We must resolutely apply this criterion in the spirit of the third plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee to liberate our minds, begin moving to do what is possible, stay united to plan ahead, and constantly raise our standards to act according to the law of education. We must strengthen the leadership of the party, revive and enrich its fine traditions, bring democracy into full play, and foster the socialist activism of the teachers, students, staff members and workers to run the schools even better.

We must have political stability and unity and orderly, programmed teaching practices in order to understand the law of education thoroughly and do our educational work well. Only in a politically stable and united society, and only when schools enjoy orderliness in teaching, can there be endurable teaching plans, well-organized teaching materials, undisturbed scientific research and lasting resources of teaching personnel. And then, only then, can there be an accumulation of experience and a thorough understanding of the objective law. The "gang of four" advocated "disorder," "the greater the disorder, the greater the hope," "educational revolution is achieved when schools are no longer schools." This is outrageous. In this new historical era, constant improvement of higher education is necessary, but it should not be achieved in violation of the objective law of education, nor should the orderly process of teaching be disrupted by crash mass movements, disorder and tension. Successful political work in schools should be kept in line with school conditions and geared to teaching and research.

We must launch a program to study the science of education in order to help bring order out of chaos, rectify the educational front and improve the quality of education. The study of the science of education covers a wide range of subjects, including solutions to a series of existing problems relating to the work of our institutes of higher learning. So the study of the science of education ought be part of the daily schedules of our schools and should be pursued in an exploratory manner to gain an in-depth understanding of the law of higher education.

The tempestuous development of socialist modernization points to a promising future for higher education in our country. Let us hold high the banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and rally around the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng, take a great leap forward in ideology, and introduce drastic changes in work so as to contribute even more to the four modernizations.

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A DISCUSSION ON THE DRAMATIC PORTRAYAL OF ARTISTIC MODELS OF PROLETARIAN
REVOLUTIONARIES OF THE OLDER GENERATION

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[Text] To produce theatrical works in praise of the party and the revolutionaries of the older generation by striving to portray their artistic models is the demand of the age and the desire of the people. In his report on the work of the government delivered at the first session of the Fifth NPC, Chairman Hua entrusted us with the glorious task of striving "to produce fine works of art depicting the glorious deeds and achievements of Chairman Mao, Premier Zhou, Chairman Zhu De of the NPC Standing Committee and other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation, as well as the militant course of the people's revolutionary struggles led by our party." This task is of great practical significance in our endeavors to fulfill the wishes handed down by Comrades Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Zhu De and the other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation; to correctly sum up the experiences of our party in its militant course for more than half a century; to develop the party's fine traditions and work style; to uphold the socialist road, the dictatorship of the proletariat, party leadership and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought; to build our modern socialist China at the maximum speed; and to enrich and develop our literature and art.

The broad masses of theatrical workers of our country have lived up to the expectations of the party and the people. In the past 2 years and more they have boldly carried out artistic practice and produced many stage plays praising the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation. To celebrate the forthcoming 30th anniversary of the founding of the PRC, a series of theatrical performances have been staged in Beijing. They include the dramas "Thunder in Autumn," "Yang Kaihui," "The Xian Incident" (two performances produced and presented by the Gansu Drama Troupe and the Xian Drama Institute), "The Storm of 1 August," "Dawn," "Eastward Ho! Eastward Ho!," "Chen Yi Comes Out From the Mountains," the children's drama "Newspaper Boys," the Shaanxi

opera "The Xian Incident," the Yueju [Chekiang opera] "The Song of Newspaper Boys" and "Spring Tide," and the ballad "The Torch That Set the Prairie Ablaze." The appearance of these theatrical works is an important event in our history and is warmly welcomed and highly praised by the broad masses.

To raise this type of theatrical work to a higher level, we must sum up our experiences and draw our lessons from the present works and explain these works on the basis of combining artistic theory with artistic practice. In this article we attempt to present our crude and superficial views on the way to produce the artistic models of proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation in the hope that the public will comment on or correct them.

1. Produce Artistic Models of Revolutionaries of the Older Generation Under Typical Circumstances

To produce artistic models of revolutionaries of the older generation on the stage is a new task. Engels said: "Realism, to my mind, implies, besides truth of detail, the truth in reproduction of the typical characters under typical circumstances." ("Letter to Margaret Harkness," "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 462) Engels' classical thesis is entirely applicable to the production of artistic models of proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation.

Historical materialism tells us that leadership means a group. Leading figures are born in revolutionary struggles, and great revolutionary struggles inevitably produce great leading figures. This was precisely what Marx meant when he said, quoting Helvetius: "Every social epoch needs its great men, and when it does not find them, it invents them." ("The Class Struggles in France, 1848-1850," "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 450) Leading figures are the representatives of the proletariat and the masses. They were nurtured and brought up in great revolutionary mass movements, without which not even a genius can grow up to be a leading figure. Our revolutionaries of the older generation emerged in the great Chinese revolutionary struggles which lasted more than half a century. Therefore, to successfully create their brilliant images it is necessary to give a good description of the typical circumstances which inspired their actions. Since they were born in mass struggles, represented the interests and desires of the masses, and acted according to the objective laws of historical development, they certainly played an important role in historical developments. Our party has led people throughout the country in long and arduous revolutionary struggles and trained a large number of proletarian revolutionaries, of whom Comrades Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Zhu De and the others are outstanding representatives. Their achievements certainly deserve special mention in the history of China's revolution, because they were inseparable from the masses' activities in making history. In producing artistic models of the revolutionaries of the older generation, theatrical

arts must follow this basic principle of historical materialism, truthfully reflect the special features of the age and history, and realistically depict how these leading figures were tempered and brought up in mass movements and how they maintained their flesh-and-blood relations with the people. The drama "Thunder in Autumn," which creates Comrade Mao Zedong's brilliant image, also portrays the historical background after the defeats of the great revolutionary period, when our country was in a dilemma as to which road to take. The script describes how Comrade Mao Zedong, at this crucial historical time, combined the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the specific practice of Chinese revolution and took the correct road of using the countryside to surround the cities, and it vividly illustrates the great truth that without Mao Zedong there would be no new China. The drama and the Shaanxi opera "The Xian Incident" also describes how, at a time when the Chinese nation was at a critical stage of life or death, Comrade Zhou Enlai was entrusted by the party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong with the arduous and complex task of finding a peaceful solution to the Xian Incident. Describing Comrade Zhou Enlai's noble qualities as shown in his far-sightedness, his steadfastness in the face of danger, his courage and sagacity, this theatrical work praises the tremendous power of the party's united front policy and Comrade Zhou Enlai's great historical achievement in averting a catastrophe.

All important historical incidents and struggles were manifested in certain scenes. A stage play cannot fully transfer every historical scene to the stage. Therefore, in addition to describing the general circumstances of the age, it is necessary to depict the particular and specific circumstances and their relationship to certain particular characters in order to highlight the particular experiences and unique characteristics of the leading figures. Many playwrights have devoted a great deal of effort in this direction. The drama "Yang Kaihui" reflects the historical epoch of the great revolutionary period, with particular reference to the circumstances under which committee member Mao Zedong and Yang Kaihui carried out their struggles after the "21 May Incident." Through the portrayal of Fang Hui, Meizi, Chen Dashan and other characters, the script shows how the destinies of workers, peasants and intellectuals were undergoing changes at that age, and it is through the interwoven destinies of these characters that the personal traits of committee member Mao and Yang Kaihui are presented. The children's drama "Newspaper Boys" reflects the fierce struggle between the comrades of XINHUA RIBAO under Comrade Zhou Enlai's leadership and the Guomindang reactionaries in Chongqing after the South Anhui Incident; then, through Comrade Zhou Enlai's close relationship with several newspaper boys having different life experiences and characteristics, it portrays his profound proletarian feelings toward the party and the people. A good description of the relationship between leading figures and the various characters around them is an important factor in successfully portraying typical circumstances. Our revolutionaries of the older generation were deeply rooted among the masses and had flesh-and-blood relations with

them. Therefore, the relationship between leaders and the masses must be carefully described before the portrayal of their artistic models can be accurate, distinctive, vivid and touching.

2. The Necessity To Describe "This One" in Portraying the Artistic Models of Revolutionaries of the Older Generation

As to artistic models, Engels demanded: "Each of them is a type but at the same time also a definite individual, 'this one,' as old Hegel would say, and that is how it should be." ("Letter to Minna Kautsky," "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 453) Efforts should be made in this direction in portraying the artistic models of revolutionaries of the older generation. Comrades Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai and Zhu De very aptly embody fine proletarian qualities resplendent with communist ideals. At the same time, however, they had distinctive individualities in expressing their proletarian ideas and qualities. In several decades of revolutionary wars and socialist construction, they maintained their flesh-and-blood relations with the masses, to whom their faces, manners and gestures are only too familiar. Therefore, when these individualities of the revolutionaries of the older generation are shown on the stage, the audience feels even closer to them. On the other hand, if these individualities are not clearly expressed, the audience will find them unfamiliar, and the artistic appeal of theatrical works will be greatly reduced. Since these revolutionaries played important roles in the history of the Chinese revolution and were real persons with great influence on the broad masses, we cannot simply "rig up" their artistic models or superimpose one revolutionary's individuality on another. We must select the required materials from the vast collection of historical data about a certain revolutionary for artistic refinement before producing the artistic model of "this one" revolutionary of the older generation.

The dramas "Eastward Ho! Eastward Ho!" and "Chen Yi Comes Out From the Mountains" have had quite a warm response from the masses for one good reason: these two dramas vividly portray Commander Chen's typical personality. "Eastward Ho! Eastward Ho!" shows how Comrade Chen Yi resolutely implemented Comrade Mao Zedong's revolutionary line and the policy of steadfastly "expanding the progressive forces, winning over the intermediate forces and isolating the stubborn anticommunist forces." This was accomplished through Comrade Chen Yi's concrete actions instead of mere preaching. His magnanimity and forthrightness, his warmth toward the masses and his poetic elegance all left indelible impressions on the audience. The plays include many scenes depicting his personality in minute detail, such as the scene depicting his presentation of Ouyang Zishi's books and paintings; his criticism of Zhang Qi through a misunderstanding and later his self-examination in her presence; his resort to poetry as a means of expressing his innermost thoughts after witnessing the death of some patriots; his participation in a fighters' basketball game after working out his plans for a decisive battle; his

direction of a military operation with a martyr's child in his arms during a raging battle; and so forth. These are the typical characteristics of "this one" Chen Yi. In "Chen Yi Comes Out From the Mountains," the playwright portrays Chen Yi not only as a commander, a poet and a strategist, but also as a son of the people. When Han Shanhe, out of misunderstanding, placed him under arrest as a "renegade" and might even have executed him, he did not show the least concern for himself but was full of confidence in the masses and the revolution's future. He was warm and sincere toward Han Shanhe, and when the latter realized his own errors and felt very bad about it, Chen Yi said to the people: "Commander Han Shanhe is a staunch veteran revolutionary! This good comrade!" His kneeling before a martyr's mother and calling himself her son and other similar actions also demonstrate his unique greatness. While watching the play in the theater, each person in the audience feels as though Comrade Chen Yi is right next to him.

On the portrayal of models, Belinskiy stressed the need for "originality." He said: "Through the pen of a really capable writer, every character is typical; to the readers, every typical character is a familiar stranger." ("Belinskiy on Literature," p 120) We must continue to intensify our study of the ideas and characteristics of the revolutionaries of the older generation, and in every new work on them we must not only present new episodes but also new facets of personalities. In the course of life experiences a person in different historical stages and different circumstances, or faced by different people and different problems, certainly shows his different characteristics. Although "Chen Yi Comes Out From the Mountains" and "Eastward Ho! Eastward Ho!" were written about the same person with realistic and appealing effects, the images presented are different and not interchangeable. Therefore, each play provides new ideological enlightenment as well as artistic enjoyment.

To portray the artistic models of proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation on the stage, it is not enough to rely on the work of playwrights. These models must be manifested through the performances of the actors. The actor's role is quite important. We have now had some success with a group of actors playing the part of leading figures. Although their acting cannot be completely true to life, they are nevertheless striving to imitate these leaders "in physical resemblance as well as in ways of expression." For the actors, producing the images of these leading figures is different from producing those of others, because to play the part of leading figures there must first of all be physical resemblance; otherwise, the leading figures cannot be recognized by the audience and, consequently, cannot be educational. Therefore, "physical resemblance" is quite important. However, "the ways of expression" are even more important, and we must have a profound understanding of the leading figures' ideological characteristics and their spiritual world and an accurate knowledge of their typical individualities and spiritual qualities before we can realistically express them with an artistic appeal.

3. Correctly Handle the Dialectical Relationship Between Historical Facts and Artistic Fiction

To realistically reproduce typical characters of revolutionaries of the older generation under typical circumstances, the relationship between historical facts and artistic fiction must be handled well. On the one hand, artistic fiction is necessary in typifying the struggles of contradictions in life. On the other hand, artistic fiction must not contradict historical facts. The permissible extent of using fiction and the content of fiction should be decided according to different subject matters, different methods of expression, different personal traits of the characters and the way these traits develop. In "The Xian Incident," staged as Gansu and Xian dramas and Shaanxi opera, the main emphasis is on a historical incident, and many historical figures appear. Therefore, greater emphasis is laid on historical facts. Yet many portions of the scripts are fictional. For example, Comrade Zhou Enlai had only a brief interview with Chiang Kai-shek as a matter of formality, and his important meetings were only with T.V. Soong and Soong Meiling. However, all three scripts feature Comrade Zhou Enlai's meeting with Chiang Kai-shek as a crucial event in a long scene. In these plays, Comrade Zhou Enlai is shown sternly criticizing Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary policies; then, proceeding from the already changed situation, he is shown analyzing the contradictions before Chiang Kai-shek in order to convince him of the seriousness of the situation and finally forcing him to accept the terms of Generals Zhang and Yang, thus bringing about a peaceful solution of the Xian Incident. This scene is fictional but generally agrees with historical facts and the characters' personalities. Therefore, these plays win the audience's acceptance. This type of fiction not only helps demonstrate Comrade Zhou Enlai's greatness and brilliant qualities, but also exposes Chiang Kai-shek's malicious, cunning and weak nature. Furthermore, in Scene VI of "The Xian Incident" as produced by the Xian Drama Institute, Comrades Mao Zedong and Zhu De are shown sending Comrade Zhou Enlai off from the cave. This scene is also fictional. However, because it is an artistic recapitulation of historical facts and a portrayal of the "three veterans'" individual characteristics and the close relations among them, this scene helps refresh people's fond memories and is greatly welcomed by the audience. Practice has shown that this type of fiction is not only permissible but also necessary.

In the plays "Yang Kaihui," "Newspaper Boys," "The Song of Newspaper Boys," "Spring Tide" and others, most of the characters other than Comrades Mao Zedong, Yang Kaihui and Zhou Enlai are fictional. Therefore, in dealing with some episodes or some minute details, the use of fiction may assume even greater dimensions. However, we cannot create things at will. The playwrights have talked about how they took great pains in arranging each episode and the minute details and in selecting and rejecting materials, because the result of their fiction has to be judged by the audience. Artistic fiction should first reflect the real

features of the age. The situation in each class and the relationship between classes should conform to the essence of historical realities. The portrayal of historical incidents should also conform to correct historical conclusions, while important facts cannot be distorted. Fiction cannot serve as a cover for the important historical facts. As to the portrayal of historical figures in the fictional portions, care must be taken to conform to their basic characteristics. The special purpose of historical plays which depict revolutionaries of the older generation is to educate people through revolutionary history. Therefore, the above rules should not be violated. However, as long as the playwrights bear these rules in mind and follow the laws of theatrical arts, they should give full scope to their imagination and creativity and boldly use artistic fiction, provided that in doing so they can more effectively meet the requirements of the subject matter and the portrayal of leading figures. Then they will be able to produce interesting and absorbing theatrical works.

While limiting the scope of artistic fiction, historical facts first provide the basis for artistic fiction. The use of fiction does not mean the creation of something out of nothing. For the playwright, the more plentiful the historical data at his disposal and the more thorough his understanding of history, the easier will be his job of using fiction. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "The life of the people is always a mine of raw materials that are crude but most vital, rich and fundamental; they make all literature pallid by comparison; they provide literature and art with an inexhaustible source, their only source." ("Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art") The militant course of the party and the brilliant achievements of the revolutionaries of the older generation are themselves a mine and a source of revolutionary theatrical works. The activities of the revolutionaries of the older generation are rich and varied as well as interesting and absorbing, and our theatrical works, in both quantity and quality, are still far from adequate in portraying them. Therefore, our playwrights should first of all devote their efforts to mastering historical data and then, after artistic assembling and regrouping, generalization and fictionalization, produce accurate and distinctive images of these revolutionaries.

4. Avoid the Tendencies of "Deification" and "Generalization"

To produce artistic models of revolutionaries of the older generation with their distinctive individualities, we must avoid the tendency to "deify" leading figures. Proletarian revolutionaries are human beings, not gods. Therefore, deification of any leader is against historical materialism. Theoretically speaking, it is also against realism. With a vicious intent to usurp party and state leadership, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" viciously attacked the revolutionaries of the older generation and clamored that "glorifying these old fellows in writing" must be prohibited. At the same time, they concocted the idealistic "three prominences" as a model for creative works, besides "deifying" Comrade

Mao Zedong for ulterior motives. These ideas fettered the minds of playwrights to a certain extent and obstruct their efforts to produce better artistic models of leading figures. This matter must be carefully settled.

The dramas "Thunder in Autumn" and "Yang Kaihui" were produced in the process of destroying the "cult of personality" among leaders. If we will recall the past, we can see how extremely difficult it was to write about a leader and to present him as a human being with flesh and blood! However, along with the increase in people's understanding, both playwrights and audiences have to make higher demands. Some playwrights have said that because their minds were not sufficiently emancipated they had no courage to write about what they actually knew from the huge amount of realistic and impressive data in their hands. Consequently, artistic quality was adversely affected. Similar conditions existed in writing about other leading figures, because the playwrights simply treated them as spokesmen for party lines and policies, instead of truthfully writing about their roles in sharp dramatic contradictions or paying attention to their resourceful inner worlds. Hereafter, the tendency to "deify" leading figures in creative works must cease, and more realistic and touching artistic models must be produced.

In the article "Learn From Mao Zedong," Comrade Zhou Enlai pointed out: "Our leader was born among the people. He is related to the Chinese people by flesh and blood and is closely linked to China's land and soil." We must see our leaders from this historical materialistic viewpoint and let our creative practice be guided by it. Leading figures are closely related to the broad masses, and their ideology incessantly develops in the practice of common struggles among the masses. We must portray leading figures in the light of struggles of sharp contradictions and write about how they joined the masses in the arduous tasks of solving difficult problems and how, in the course of these tasks, their feelings had their ups and downs. We must never portray them as omnipotent gods or prophets who could turn all evil into good fortune.

While avoiding "deifying" leading figures, we should also avoid the tendency of "generalization." Leading figures are human beings, but not exactly ordinary human beings. They are ordinary and yet great; common and yet noble; kind and yet dignified. They embodied the dialectical unity of these two different aspects. We have to strive for the creation of artistic models of revolutionaries of the older generation just because they represented a concentration of noble proletarian qualities and can serve as good examples for us. Therefore, in our theatrical works we cannot treat them as just ordinary people and should not be satisfied with some understanding of their outward appearance. Nor should we be satisfied with portraying what people generally know about them. We must clearly reveal their noble spiritual world, their staunch revolutionary will, and all that is good and beautiful in the depth of their souls. We must praise them for their great roles in the history

of China's revolution and thus help people better understand and more deeply know about their leaders. We must not arbitrarily create their images according to certain immediate needs and make them say what they could not have said and do what they could not have done at that time. However, along with historical development, we have had an increasingly better knowledge of these revolutionaries. We can, and should, keep on discovering anything about them that is particularly inspiring and instructive to the audience and clearly portray it.

5. Produce Good Artistic Models of Revolutionaries of the Older Generation Through Various Artistic Forms

Theatrical works rely on artistic powers to influence and educate the audience. Therefore, in portraying revolutionaries of the older generation, stage plays should follow what Comrade Zhou Enlai pointed out as standing halfway between education and recreation so that the audience can receive education from artistic enjoyment. Therefore, we must give full scope to various artistic forms of theatrical works and strive to produce good artistic models of proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation.

Drama stands at the forefront. To produce good artistic models of these revolutionaries, playwrights have taken advantage of the merits of drama, because it is closer in form to real life. In drama there are many new features in directing and acting, and gratifying experiments have been carried out in the use of musical, artistic and lighting effects as well as in the choice of subject matter and the addition of forms and styles. "Dawn," for example, truthfully reproduces a tragedy in our party with a powerful appeal. "Yang Kaihui" sings, in the form of an epic, the praise of Comrade Mao Zedong's achievements with a strong influence on people's minds. We must follow Comrade Zhou Enlai's instructions and strive to explore the laws of artistic creation. We should further emancipate our minds with regard to the forms of expression. We hope that, in the practice of producing artistic models of the revolutionaries of the older generation, drama as an art will undergo a new and even bigger development.

Following a number of fine dramas, the Shaanxi opera "The Xian Incident" and the Yueju "The Song of Newspaper Boys" and "Spring Tide" have appeared on the stage along with several others, all praising these revolutionaries. They have achieved gratifying success in the experiment of creating the images of our leaders through songs. Both "The Xian Incident" and "Spring Tide" include songs sung by Comrade Zhou Enlai. These songs convey the innate feelings of a leading figure and lead to a chorus among the audience. This feature has been possible thanks only to the courage of the artists in overcoming various obstacles and the great pains they took in the creation.

Stage song is an artistic form closely related to our people's cultural life and is what people enjoy. Theatrical arts include recitation, acting, acrobatics and other artistic means, but singing is among the important ones. In the traditional repertoire, these are the means of creating various types of characters, including austere and awe-inspiring characters of the past. Then why can't we use the same means to create artistic models of revolutionaries of the older generation? Theoretically speaking, leading figures on the opera stage can, and should, sing. In this connection, the authors of "The Xian Incident" and "Spring Tide" have conducted bold experiments and accumulated valuable experiences. Both plays have taken advantage of this special feature of operas by providing some passages for Comrade Zhou Enlai to sing. In doing so the playwrights had to be careful with the selection and improvement of the songs in order that they might be suitable for the expression of Comrade Zhou Enlai's feelings. In arranging for these songs, the authors had to make some preparations so that the audience would not be caught by surprise. The dialects used were local dialects and made to harmonize with the songs. At the same time, the words spoken by Comrade Zhou Enlai retain his usual proud and unbending forcefulness. The experiments are a great success. However, this does not mean that all problems have been solved, because we must continue our exploration through practice. We will meet with different problems in different operas and different subject matters, so we must be bold and yet cautious, positive and yet careful. However, the Shaanxi opera "The Xian Incident" and the Yueju "Spring Tide" have played the role of trailblazers. If we take a long-range view, operas will become a powerful artistic form for producing artistic models of revolutionaries of the older generation.

However, it still requires painstaking efforts on our part to achieve greater success. Besides summing up our experiences, we must, more important still, follow the spirit of Comrade Mao Zedong's "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art," "conscientiously study Marxism and the society," learn from the noble qualities of the revolutionaries of the older generation, and improve our artistic skills. Only thus can we make further progress in our artistic practice and produce accurate and distinctive artistic models of these revolutionaries. We must redouble our efforts and, on the basis of the achievements already gained, sum up our experiences and continue to advance. With more effective use of theatrical works as an artistic form, we will create artistic models of the revolutionaries of the older generation and let them forever dominate the stage, forever live in the people's hearts, and forever inspire us to advance along the road of our new Long March!

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